

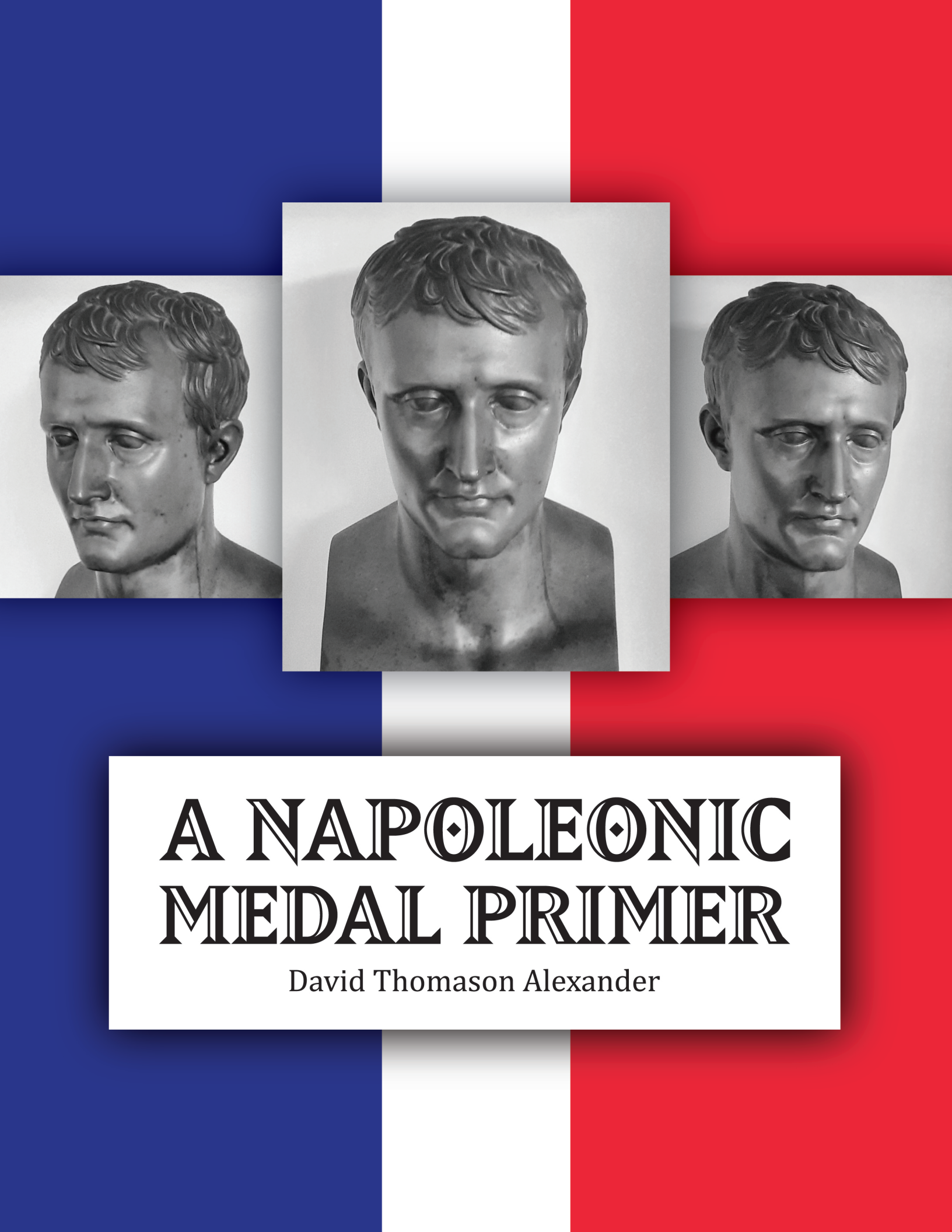
# A NAPOLEONIC MEDAL PRIMER

David Thomason Alexander









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## THANKS ARE DUE...

Special debts of thanks must go to my wife Pat Maria Alexander for her limitless patience and never-failing inspiration; to Tom DeLorey, indefatigable Reader and critic of the manuscript; American Numismatic Association Curator Douglas Mudd, American Numismatic Society Librarian-Archivist David Hill, MCA Editor John W. Adams, Harvey G. Stack, John P. Burnham, Harlan J. Berk. Those who have gone before: John Leonard Alexander (1938-1987). Capt. Pedro Miguel Mudarra y Sarmiento, USA, (1941-2020), Jay P. Guren, long-time Coin World Token and Medal Editor, Russell Rulau, Hugh Honour, Lucca, Italy (1927-2016) and David M. Finn, profound students of the career of Antonio Canova; Kenneth N. Sellati (1939-2006), Andrew P. Kelpsh, Dr. John S. Davenport, Otto Thomas Sghia, Paul M. Kagin, William Fox Steinberg, Bernard M. Davis, Robert S. Archer, James C. Risk OBE, Dr. Jay M. Galst (obit. 2020), SIN dynamo the late E. Carolyn Nestruck.

This book is dedicated to the memory of CHARLES J. RICARD (1930-2017), lifelong student of Napoleonic numismatics, stalwart member of the Rochester (NY) Numismatic Association, the Chicago Coin Club and the American Numismatic Association.

### **[1] (Frontispiece)**

***Napoléon Bonaparte, Premier Consul de la République Française***

*Bronze herm bust, 56 x 24.7 x 25.8cm. Signed A. Canova 1802, attributed to Antoine Denis Chaudet, 1762-1810.*







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# WHY THIS BOOK...

## A PERSONAL JOURNEY

When I obtained my first medals in the early 1950s, I quickly learned that no medal catalogs or references were available in Miami, Florida, or anywhere else to assist a young collector. There was one active dealer in town who presided over the Hobby Shop in the Shoreland Arcade, the three-story stump of what was to have been a 22-story office tower begun just as the great Florida Boom collapsed in 1926.

His shop handled model planes and cars, stamps and such coin books as then existed. The coins themselves occupied the left-hand row of glass counters in the shadow of a magnificent safe which announced in imposing gold-leaf lettering FREDERICK A. NEWMAN – PHILATELIST, NUMISMATIST. I learned that he had been an active coin dealer during the commemorative boom of the 1930s, and had many engaging eccentricities including an epic distaste for all other coin dealers!

He had treasures: five-cent, 25-cent and 69-cent “junk boxes.” With money raised from selling the Miami Daily News and returning two-cent and five-cent deposit bottles, my brother John and I bought scores of great things. One day a glint of gold caught my eye, digging toward it I found a bright golden piece about the size of a nickel bearing a laureate head with forbidding expression and legend [2] NAPOLEON EMPEREUR.

A million boyish thoughts came boiling up! Could it be?? Might it actually be... a Gold coin??? What’s this on the reverse? A laurel wreath enclosing JETON... a mere card game gambling piece, brass... Negligible value then and now, but enough to launch years of questioning and research. “From tiny acorns...”

My first French medal came from the 69-cent junk box soon after. After much searching, I identified it as the Duc d’Orléans Memorial Medal, 1842. Bronze, 27mm, by Jacques-Jean Barre, engr. Forrer I:130. Obv. Head r. of Louis-Philippe King of the French crowned with laurel and oak, incuse BARRE on truncation. Rev. Equestrian statue by Carlo Marochetti, L’ARMÉE AU PRINCE ROYAL, incuse on base BARRE D’APRÈS MAROCHETTI. Particularly perplexing was the tiny incuse Pointing Hand CUIVRE on the edge. (See Paris Privy Marks elsewhere in this study).

Louis-Philippe was, of course, the “Citizen King” who intrigued against the elder line of the House of Bourbon for the French crown for decades and grasped it during the July 1830 revolution, promising a liberal monarchy and constitutional rule with the aid of the aged Marquis de Lafayette. The Duc d’Orléans on my medal was his able and popular son and heir, killed in a fall from a speeding carriage, mortally wounding the July monarchy, which fell in February 1848.





[2]  
*NAPOLEON EMPEREUR jeton. JETON in wreath was standard for many 19th century brass gaming counters.*



Opened in 1950, the new Miami Public Library offered some help. I learned years later how extraordinary it was for any library to offer circulating coin books and catalogs and to have a reference room with such periodicals as the American Numismatic Association's journal *The Numismatist* and Lee F. Hewitt's Chicago-based *Numismatic Scrapbook* magazine.

Wayte Raymond's *Coins of the World, 20th Century Issues* was on the shelves along with its 19th Century counterpart. Cross-referencing soon revealed just who Louis Philippe I had been and first offered a tantalizing glimpse of the earlier numismatic career of Napoleon. Then there was Albert Stockvis' chaotic *Standard Coin and Medal Catalogue of the World*, 1945, published by this Liechtenstein-born dealer in Cleveland, Ohio.

My introduction to auction catalogs came through an orange-covered *Public Auction, Remarkable Collection of Crowns of the World*, offered September 1956 by Hans M.F. Schulman at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York. Here was a perplexing mish-mash of real, fake, imaginatively if not accurately described coins, medals and fantasy items, studded with citations to obscure publications which no average bidder would be able to consult.

In the 1950s such ignorance and chaos were widespread in the world of U.S. auctions, though maturing American collectors could find a far higher standard in British and European sales. It required determination and an enquiring mind to break out of the U.S.-only focus that was well-nigh universal at that time. My late brother John and I were helped by our subscription to the *Seaby Coin and Medal Bulletin* published in London.

With thousands of other Americans, I followed the short-lived U.S. medal boom launched by the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Presidential Inaugural Medal and by the many ephemeral medal series it triggered. After completing my Bachelor's and Master's degrees on scholarship at the University of Miami in 1962, I endured a year toward a PhD at UCLA, making the time more useful by plunging into the wonderfully busy Southern California numismatic world of 1962-1963.

I served as director of the Historical Museum of Southern Florida in 1963-1974, laboring toward the building of a wonderful new museum for the community which opened in 1972. The epic year 1973 brought far-reaching changes, after which I joined the staff of Amos Press in Sidney, Ohio, as a writer and editor of *Coin World*, *Numismatic Scrapbook* and *World Coins* from 1974 to 1981. Here I was exposed to a cataract of medal news and numismatic stories of all kinds, the good, the bad, the indifferent, and began very full-time writing in the field.

My work in the auction field began in 1981 with the partnership of Johnson and Jensen in Danbury, Connecticut. Here I learned the critical importance of orderly, replicable medal cataloging and the dire consequences of poor management and insufficient finance. Moving west, I directed cataloging of Kagin's 1983 San Diego ANA Convention sale and eventually circled back east to join the staff of Stack's and Coin Galleries in 1990-2015.

Joining the Numismatic Literary Guild (NLG) in 1975, I served as its executive director in 1982-1990 and wrote its 25-Year History. I was among the founders of American Medallic Sculpture Association (AMSA) in 1982. In 1998 I founded Medal Collectors of America (MCA) at the Portland ANA Convention as the first successful collector-focused medal group and launched its journal, *The MCA Advisory*.

I became a life member of the Society for International Numismatics (SIN) and outlived that once busy organization. I became a Life Member of American Numismatic Association (ANA) in 1976, penning a definitive article on the Circle of Friends of the Medallion for the 1991 *ANA Centennial Anthology*. I was made a Fellow of the American Numismatic Society (ANS) in 2008. I joined the New York Numismatic Club, the Aeropagus of American numismatic bodies in 1990 and served as its president at the end of its first century.

As NYNC Past President I was honored with my own portrait medal by Eugene Daub, and helped write with John Kleeberg the club's centennial history, *A Century of Civility*, in 2008, notable for its in-depth catalog of Club medals. In 2011 ANS published my definitive American Art Medals, 1909-1995, *Circle of Friends of the Medallion and Society of Medalists*, the only in-depth study of these two most important American medal series ever attempted.

In 2019 the marvelously innovative Newman Numismatic Portal published my *Medals of the Hall of Fame for Great Americans at New York University, an Under-utilized Resource in American Medallic Art*. Here was an in-depth examination of a surprisingly recent series of high-quality fine art medals that was nearly lost to history after 1974.

It is my hope that my newest exploration will be of value to American and many European collectors who have long been mystified by the complexity of Napoleonic numismatics. My rationale for all of these books might be to paraphrase a statement by a once-famous U.S. Large Cent guru, "When I wanted to read these books, they weren't there!" Now they will be...

David Thomason Alexander  
Patterson, New York



# AVANT-PROPOS

The title, *The Napoleonic Medal Primer*, has been chosen to express what this book is and is not. Napoléon Bonaparte (born 1769, died 1821) bestrode the world of his day like a colossus and left behind one of history's most extensive medallic "fossil records" which has continued to grow centuries after his death on the remote South Atlantic island of Saint Helena.

This book will offer an introduction to and survey of medals of Napoleonic interest from the French Revolution to modern times, and is directed in large measure toward American collectors. The term "Primer," pronounced "Primmer" in the UK and "Pry-mer" in the U.S., has been chosen to avoid suggesting that this is an encyclopedic coverage of all Napoleonic material, which would include significantly more medals than can be covered here.

This work is initially built on medals that the author has personally collected, examined, cataloged and recorded since the early 1950s, in other words, a record of what is known to exist.

The text is directed toward but not certainly limited to the particular needs of both beginning and experienced collectors, including a basic medallic vocabulary, to present and clarify the use of terms that often baffle collectors coming over from the world of coins. Particular attention will be paid to clarifying the "restrike" issue, contrasting Paris Mint practice with the limited and restrictive American understanding of this troublesome term.

Similarly, the critical role of PATINAS used on Copper and Bronze medals over the centuries will be addressed, along with description of the all-important EDGE MARKINGS of Paris Mint medals and their relation to dating.





# BASIC MEDAL VOCABULARY

Medals of the Monnaie de Paris, the Paris Mint, have long perplexed American numismatists. This should come as no surprise to 21st century collectors who realize that medallic ignorance has been part of the American numismatic scene since at least 1893, when the late Augustus G. Heaton published his *Treatise on the U.S. Branch Mints*, aka “Mint Marks.”

Heaton was a well-rounded writer, critic, artist and numismatist, but inadvertently strait-jacketed American collectors into limiting their collecting solely to U.S. coins by date and mintmark. These collectors remained ignorant of world and even of American medals, though there has been perceptible progress in opening up the latter field since the 1960s. Since 1961, at least some attention has been paid to U.S. Mint, Presidential Inaugural and Washington medals and such specialized areas as Colonial medals cataloged by C. Wyllys Betts, the Comitia Americana medals and So-Called Dollars.

World medals and especially those of the Paris Mint have remained beyond the grasp and understanding of most American collectors. Without knowledge of the centuries of medal production and the guiding principles of the Paris Mint, even knowledgeable American numismatists have been prone to misunderstanding and sometimes outright hostility to the work of that institution.

The author recalls a 1975 conversation with the late ANA historian and medal dealer Hank Spangenberg of Englewood, Ohio. Himself a U.S. medallic scholar and by no means a numismatist limited to “Lincoln pennies,” Hank nevertheless spoke sternly of the Paris Mint, “I have an ethical problem with them!” His “problem” centered on the historical Paris practice of “continued striking” of many historical medals.

Americans inevitably refer to medals and coins struck after the date they bear as “restrikes,” a distinctly pejorative term when applied to such American coins as early large cents and 1804 dollars. “Restrikes” to them are illegitimate, offensive, deceptive creations deserving immediate condemnation. Spangenberg and others holding the same view have been perfectly sincere in this belief. They are also perfectly wrong in the context of the history and practices of the Paris Mint.

From a collector and dealer perspective, it may be legitimate to value a Napoleonic medal dated and struck in 1796 higher than a virtually identical specimen actually struck in 1896 or even 1996. However, it should be the business of both dealer and collector to know enough about Paris Mint medals to be able to arrive at an approximate date of striking based on 1) edge marking; 2) surface patina; 3) striking characteristics. Granted, these determinants may not give a precise year of striking before 1966, but will place the medal within a known time period, distinguishing it from a far older Plain Edge example of the same design.



# PARIS MINT PRIVY MARKS APPEARING ON MEDALS

These minute incuse marks appear on the edges, generally at 6:00, along with such metal designations as OR, Gold; ARGENT, Silver, sometimes with added 1, 2 or 3; CUIVRE, Copper; BRONZE; or BRONZE FLORENT for gold plate; occasionally ZINC or other modern alloy. These marks can provide at least an approximation of the date of striking through 1966.

Though they remained unknown to most American collectors, a list of these edge marks was published in 1964 by Sarah Elizabeth Freeman in her *Medals Relating to Medicine and Allied Sciences in the Numismatic Collection of The John Hopkins University*, the Evergreen House Foundation Publication Number 2, Baltimore, MD. Her descriptive "Notes on the Catalogue" present a detailed list of Paris Mint edge marks. Evergreen House was long home to the legendary Garrett Family numismatic collection.

## **Lampe Antique (Antique Lamp), March 1832 – October 1841,**

Gold and Silver strikes. The lamp is an elongated, serpent-like device that was not always completely impressed into the edge.

## **Ancre et C (Anchor and C), October 1841 – September 1842.**

Bronze, Silver, Gold. A seldom-encountered and complicated puncheon.

## **Prou Antique (Antique Prow), 1842 – 1845.**

The prow, leading edge of an ancient warship with its ramming beak at the ready.

## **Main Indicatrice (Pointing Hand), June 1845- October 1860.**

A hand cut off at the wrist with fingers distinct on sharp impressions.

## **Abeille (Bee), November 1860 – December 1879.**

A Napoleonic emblem still in use nine years after the fall of the Second Empire.

## **Corne d'Abondance (Cornucopia), January 1, 1880 – present.**

Somewhat serpent-like with curling end, coins spilling from the mouth.

## **Cornucopia plus date of actual striking, 1966 – present.**

**Winged A. Paris mark placed on some commercial productions not sold by the Mint itself.**

## **SILVER FINENESS**

Argent1 = Premier titre, .925.

Argent2 = .900 silver.

Argent3 = .835 silver, fineness of post-1867 Latin Monetary Union minor coins, often used on some medals struck in the lean years after World War I.

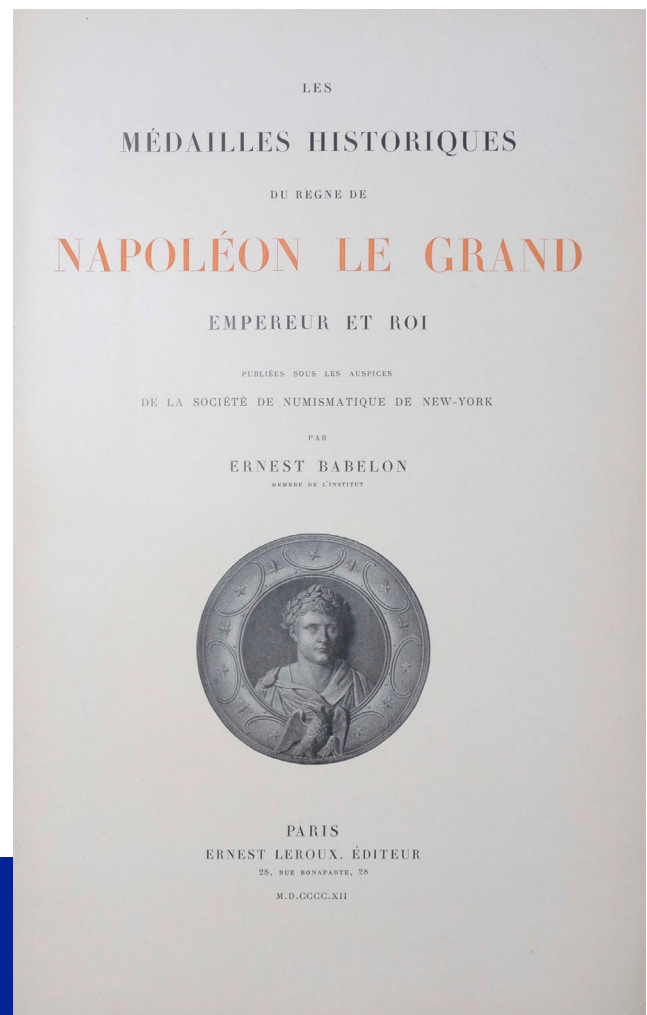
# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Definitive reference catalogues for Napoleonic medals are surprisingly few. Many of the most important books and catalogs cited below fall into the rare book category, and as such are inaccessible to most modern numismatists. Some of these were cited in the past by auctioneers and dealers confident that their rarity would deter readers from actually checking references to them. Among the most important references studied by the author over the years are described below.

## BABELON

[3] *Les Médailles Historiques du Règne de Napoléon le Grand Empereur et Roi. Publiées sous les Auspices de la Société de Numismatique de New-York, par Ernest Babelon Membre de l'Institut.* 1912. Flyleaf designation *Histoire Métallique de Napoléon le Grand Empereur et Roi. Préparé par la Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne de l'Institut Impérial, Dessins Chaudet et de Lemot.* Paris, Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 28, Rue Bonaparte, 28. M.D.CCCC.XII. 430 pp ill. with 201 engravings or preliminary sketches of medal designs by Antoine-Denis Chaudet and his successor Baron de Lemot, dedicated to Monsieur Frédéric Masson de l'Académie Française.

Virtually unknown to most collectors today, this sumptuous folio volume (12 x 18 7/16-inch, 29 x 47cm) exists both in hard and soft cover and presents the meticulous records of la Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne de l'Institut Impérial, and its Commission on Inscriptions and Medals, which actively deliberated in 1805-1814, not only on medal inscriptions and designs but on public monuments, statues and inscriptions for roadways, bridges and canals.



[3]  
*Les Médailles Historiques du Règne de  
Napoléon le Grand Empereur et Roi*



On Napoleon's downfall, the Commission's years of effort were preserved or more properly fossilized in three folio volumes which after several adventures finally vanished into the depths of the Bibliothèque Nationale, beyond the reach of Restoration censors until discovered there in the early 20th century by the great French numismatist Ernest Babelon.

Babelon's efforts to publish these long forgotten but priceless records ultimately brought him to the American Numismatic Society in New York City and to the Society's long-time President and "angel" Archer M. Huntington, whose unfailing generosity made possible the publication at last of these long-lost monuments of French medallic art.

The resulting book was reviewed by Frédéric Masson, Membre de l'Institut in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, vol. 46, no. 4, Oct. 1912, pp 189-192. Masson explained the book's unexpected American connection by citing the scorn of contemporary French historians and bibliophiles for such "modern" subjects as Napoleonic history. He recalled the sale of the Earl of Washburnham collection, attended by the administrator of the Bibliothèque Nationale with a substantial war chest. That great collection's substantial Napoleonic manuscript holdings were completely ignored as the administrator lavished his funds solely on medieval manuscripts.

It is fascinating to consider that the existing canon of official Napoleonic medals was largely created through the efforts of the untiring Dominique Vivant Denon, who was never an active member of the Commission on Inscriptions and Medals. The Commission planned and deliberated in their subterranean world, while the indefatigable Denon worked in the sunlight on the creation of most of the actual Napoleonic medals known today.

This monumental volume provides detailed illustrations of many complete reverse designs as well as simple initial sketches or unfinished drawings of medals that were never actually struck. Marvelous philosophical insights in the text include a somewhat cynical quote from an unidentified entomologist of 1912, "a Medaillier indestructibly assembles the archives of human miseries which are then called History."

The Commission on Inscriptions met weekly, relying on its members' classic education, which it asserted, "s'inspire constamment de l'antiquité dans le choix de types et des legends, suivant, d'ailleurs, la mode qui domiait alors exclusivement en toutes choses. Répudiant le genre réaliste comme vulgaire et éphémère..." ("is inspired to rely constantly upon Antiquity in the choice of types and legends exclusively in all cases. They repudiate the realist style as vulgar and ephemeral...") (p. xiv).

Though the name of Babelon appears throughout listings of works on ancient, medieval and modern numismatics, this massive book is almost never mentioned. Consulting it clarifies more than a few mysteries of the Napoleonic series. For instance, we learn that though distinguished in size from the general run of Napoleonic medals, the 1805 Paris Mayors at Schönbrunn Medal (Bramsen 453) is not among designs presented in this huge volume.

However, pondering the actual event gave the Commission yet another opportunity to assert that it favored use of both Latin and French (p. xxi) though it actually used only Latin, "qu'elle est commune à tous les savants de l'Europe." ("Which is common to all the savants of Europe for inscriptions and legends.")

Sculptor Chaudet died on 19 April 1810, and the last Commission meeting on February 18, 1814, deliberated over a medal on the *Code Penal*. The "séance levée à 3 heures," and total silence then settled on its work.

## BRAMSEN

***Médallier Napoléon le Grand, ou Description des Médailles, Clichés, Repoussés et Décorations Relatives aux Affaires de la France pendant le Consulat et l'Empire.*** par L. Bramsen, Conseiller Intime, Président de la Société Numismatique à Copenhague. Paris, Alphonse Picard & Fils; Copenhague, Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag. Imprimerie Holger Meyer, 1904-1913. Three 27.5 x 22.4-centimeter paperback volumes:

*Premier Partie*, 1799-1809; published 1904.

*Deuxième Partie*, 1810-1815; published 1907.

*Troisième Partie*, 1816-1869; published 1913.

Beginning his listings with medals struck about three years after the first Napoleonic medals had actually appeared, Danish Privy Councilor Ludvik Bramsen created the reference most widely cited even by those who have never owned or actually handled a copy. His listings were always terse, far from complete and are now a century obsolete. He provided no illustrations, leaving the reader to rely on brief and poorly detailed French-language descriptions that are at least a century out of date.

The late Elvira Clain-Stefanelli listed Bramsen among medal references in her *Selected Numismatic Bibliography* (published by Stack's in 1967), calling it "the best reference on Napoleonic medals." While admitting the book's many deficiencies for 21st century collectors, Bramsen numbers are nonetheless included in our text in deference to long-standing tradition.

## CGI

**Monnaie de Paris. *Catalogue Général Illustré des Éditions de la Monnaie de Paris (CGI)***, Paris Mint, three 29.5 x 21-centimeter paperback volumes, plus three additional volumes of similar size dedicated to post-World War II medals. Never intended as a learned reference, CGI first appeared in the 1890s as a sales mega-catalogue, offering a wealth of images and often meticulous descriptions of the plethora of medals still offered by the Mint. It is, however, of the greatest value to perplexed collectors seeking the most basic information on designs and artists of what exists.

**Florange, Jules. *Retour des Cendres, Décembre 1840 par les Médailles*, 1957.** Paperback, 24 x 16 cm, 48pp, illustrated by medals in the Florange collection. A remarkable chronicle of specialized medals that recall King Louis-Philippe's stage-managed pageant surrounding the entombment of Napoleon in the Invalides, including many images of medals and plaquettes virtually never seen today.

**Jones, Mark. *The Art of the Medal*. Trustees of the British Museum, 1979.** 25.5 x 18.5 cm, 192 pp, profusely illustrated. One of the leading exponents of the rebirth of interest in the medal in modern times, Jones disposes of the Napoleonic era in Chapter 12, "The Wyons and the age of Neo-Classicism." His Anglocentric Napoleonic review can be described as terse to the point of dismissive.

**Laskey, Captain J.C. *A Description of the Series of Medals Struck at the National Medal Mint by Order of Napoleon Bonaparte, Commemorating the Most Remarkable Battles and Events during his Dynasty*.** London: Printed for H.R. Young, No. 56, Paternoster Row, 1818. 239 pp, 24 x 15 cm cover dimensions. Frontispiece BUONAPARTE, Peint par Muneret, Avril 1815, otherwise without illustration. A true pioneer effort, Laskey's work is generally recognized as the first publication in any language on Napoleonic medals, opening with a French-language listing, *Désignation des Médailles*, which is essentially identical to the receipt-list upon which Lisa and Joachim Zeitz were to base their 2003 *Napoleons Medaillen* (see below). Laskey is also the first English-language work, listing 141 medals with descriptions of events commemorated. His use of the term "Dynasty" is certainly intriguing, though "family" would have been more precise.

**Scargill, Miss Ann Mudie. *Medallic History of Napoleon Bonaparte, 1820. Translated by Miss Ann Mudie Scargill, from the Original Manuscript, Intended to have been published by the Late Government of France*.** London: Printed for the Proprietor, by J. Shaw, 137, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, 1920. 182pp. No illustrations, but presenting casual descriptions of 137 medals. Original copies are virtually impossible to find today but modern facsimiles exist. This book is reportedly an adaptation of Dominique Denon's own efforts that were never completed thanks to the Bourbon Restoration's hostility to all things Napoleonic. Medals are listed chronologically, beginning with (1) the Battle of Montenotte, through (121) Napoleon gives his son to France. Chronology is then abandoned, with listing Numbers (122) Battle of Millesimo through (133) Mayors of Paris at Schönbrunn and other later date issues.

Scargill was evidently a relative of Captain James Mudie, creator of the Grand Series of National Medals, a 40-medal set also issued in 1820 as a British riposte to the Napoleonic series, with medals designed by the same French medalists who created the official medals of Napoleon.

## TODD

**Todd, Richard J. *Napoleon's Medals, Victory to the Arts*.** The History Press, Stroud, Gloucestershire UK. 2009. 224 pp. Profusely illustrated with photos by the author, a profound academic student of ancient art and arts professor in Wichita, Kansas. This large-size (28.8 x 22.4cm) reference examines Napoleonic medals in their relation to both history and ancient art, specifically linked to Napoleon's wholesale seizure of art works in conquered Italy and their triumphal exhibition in Paris, "the only place in which they would be safe" according to the declaration of Director Denon, in the new Musée Napoléon.

## ZEITZ

**Zeitz, Lisa and Joachim. *Napoleons Medaillen*.** Petersberg, BRD. Michael Imhof Verlag, 272 pp, profusely illustrated, 2003. Generous both in its sumptuous size (32.5 x 25cm) and wealth of illustrations, Zeitz examines one of the most remarkable Napoleonic collections in existence, consisting of medals noted under Laskey, purchased at the Monnaie de Paris in 1815 by a visiting Englishman identified as Mr. Palmer, only eight weeks after the Emperor's final defeat and dispatch to Saint Helena.



Preserved in its original Kästchen with velvet-lined trays constructed by bookbinder M. Gainier of Quai de l'Horologe, this is the same collection that was the basis for Captain L.C. Laskey's 1818 work described above, the first serious work on Napoleonic medals in any language. Reproduced is a splendid Receipt headed ***Monnaie des Médailles, Collection des Médailles en Bronze des Campagnes et du Règne de l'Empereur Napoleon 16 Aug. 1815.*** This Receipt meticulously records all 139 Bronze medals sold to English visitor Palmer for 458 francs and then taken to England. In addition to meticulous photos of each individual medal, Zeitz also reproduces 15 color plates with obverse and reverse photos of the medals resting in their original pale green velvet trays, all contained in their now-202-year-old Medaillenkästchen.

## SELECTED AUCTION LITERATURE

Professionally prepared numismatic auction catalogues can be of immense value to numismatists entering the Napoleonic field, and even ineptly prepared catalogs have their own kind of utility. Space prevents the listing of the scores of catalogues released by great French numismatic firms too numerous to mention (Vinchon, Poindessault and others).

Specifically noted are modern European classics such as the German firm Münzen und Medaillen, Weil am Rhein; and the great Swiss firms UBS Gold & Numismatik, Basel, and Bank Leu, Zürich (see below) whose two priceless catalogs of medals from the collection of Prince Napoleon of the Jerome Bonaparte line were cataloged by the late Jean-Paul Divo in 1974-1975.

Notable mainline American auction firms included Stack's and Coin Galleries and the several companies headed by Q. David Bowers. These delivered high-quality medal cataloguing when the firms had medal catalogers on staff of the caliber of the author, Jan Blamberg, John P. Burnham, the three late staff members, Robert S. Archer, Carl W.A. Carlson and Lt. Cmdr. James C. Risk OBE. Catalogs specified here were selected for their quality of description and meaningful listings of Napoleonica, and their mastery of what Carlson liked to call Research Cataloging.

The first catalog listed below was chosen as an example of the disappointing bare-bones methods once common in the U.S.

**American Art Association. *Napoleon Bonaparte, his Adherents and Contemporaries. The Important Collection of the late Madame Louisa Nidelet.* New York, Feb. 3 and 4, 1915.** A fascinating window into general-purpose non-numismatic auctions of that day offering a jumble of books, coins and medals, including 50 medal lots relating to France and the U.S. with minimal descriptions, neither plates nor estimates.

## ESSLING

**Frères Feuardent, Jules Florange. *Prince d'Essling, Important Collection de Monnaies et Médailles Consulat et Empire Napoléon Ier et sa Famille, Napoléon III, Médailles Historiques et de Personnages... Appartenant au Prince d'Essling.* Paris, Juin 1927.** With 68 plates of coins, medals and decorations. Consignor was nephew of Marshal André Masséna, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Essling.

This catalog is notable not only for the fabulous quality of the material it offers but also

for the philosophical and historical discourse with which it opens. Set forth at length are the firm opinions of the Emperor on the role of the medal in preserving the history of his glory and his insistence on use of la langue Française as the only fitting language for his medallic history.

The Essling Collection also presents a remarkably full record of medals of Napoleon's adversaries and contemporaries, including James Mudie's *National Medals* published in England in 1820. Zeitz calls Bramsen, Essling and Julius the foundations of all modern scientific and historical study of Napoleonic medals.

**Glendinning's. *Historical Medals including a Collection of Silver Napoleonic Medals*. 21 May 1986.** One of the scores of quality auctions of this historic firm. Plates include four color pages of Napoleonic gold medals and 12 black and white pages from the collection of R.A. Courtney of Penzance, consigned by the Royal Institution of Cornwall.

**Johnson & Jensen. Danbury, Connecticut, 1977-1984.** In a category by themselves were catalogues of this partnership which included the late D. Wayne Johnson (obit. 2021) and Chris Jensen (obit. 2015). They pioneered the printing of medal auction catalogs on newsprint and, more importantly, developed rational, orderly and replicable presentation of data in lot descriptions that encouraged readers to learn as well as to bid confidently. After the 1984 bankruptcy, their methodology was continued for a time by John P. Burnham's Collectors Auctions Ltd. of Old Saybrook, CT.

## JULIUS

**Helbing, Otto Nachf. *Sammlung Dr. P(aul) Julius. Heidelberg. Französische Revolution: Napoleon I und seine Zeit. Medaillen/ Orden und Ehrenzeichen, Münzen*. München, 11 Januar 1932.** 430 pp, 4,355 lots, pp, 58 plates (Lichtdrucktafeln).

Venerated today as a North Star for serious collectors, this catalog included the medal collection of Privy Councilor Ludvik Bramsen, cataloger of *Médaillier Napoleon le Grand* in 1904-1913 with many additional specimens including medals issued by Napoleon's adversaries from other sources acquired over some 40 years. Holder of two doctorates, Dr. Julius (died 9 January 1931) was a leading European industrial chemist and executive of Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik Ludwigshafen that became part of I.G, Farbenindustrie AG. Julius' Austrian medal holdings were another monument to specialized collecting that is virtually forgotten today. The Napoleonic sale was scheduled for 11 January 1932. A definitive text was prepared and magnificent plates meticulously crafted from plaster casts.

No sale was actually held during 1932, possibly due to the approach of the National Socialist government early in 1933. Mysteries surround this remarkable collection, including the whereabouts of the medals from 1932 to 1959 and the disappearance of many of the original lots described in 1932. The collection lived on in legend and more references to the Julius catalog exist than do actual copies, although examples of the original catalog can be found with sufficient time and effort. Adding to the mystery, a *Sammlung Julius* catalog by R. Gaettens jun. appeared in 1959; see next listing.

**R(ichard) Gaettens jun. *Sammlung Julius*. Heidelberg, 21-23 April 1959. I. Teil: Französische Revolution, Napoleon I. und seine Zeit, Medaillen, Orden und Ehrenzeichen, Münzen, 1789-1808.** 70 pp, 2054 lots, 30 plates. Elvira Clain-Stefanelli lists this catalog as number 4630 in her *Select Numismatic Bibliography* published by Stack's

in 1967, but makes no mention of the classic 1932 Helbing catalog. The Gaettens version describes itself as the first part of the greater collection, noting the absence of many other items as “Einzelne Stücke, die in der Zwischenheit verloren gegangen sind, sind nicht mehr aufgeführt” (particular pieces lost in the intervening years which are no more traceable). This catalog is notable for its crude copies of the 1932 plates and truncated lot descriptions that are terse to the point of uselessness. Both Julius catalogs listed here were part of the library of the late medal savant Richard Margolis.

**Jean-Pierre Osenat. *L'Empire à Fontainebleau*. 10 March 2002. Collection du Dr. H.B., Collections Princières et à divers.** 504 lots, color illustrations. Perhaps better known to militaria collectors than to numismatists, this catalog offers an amazing variety of Napoleonic materials, including nine pages of somewhat casually listed Napoleonic medals, many in group lots with black and white photographs. Some medals are described forthrightly as Refrappes with no attention to specifics of patina or edge markings. The greatest value of this catalog is the wide variety of materials covered, which range from “meubles et Objets d’arts” to bronze and marble sculptures, ornate clocks, ship models, furniture, oil paintings, crystal, miniature portraits, militaria including rifles, pistols, swords and sabers; bronze Eagles from Napoleonic units, insignia of the Legion of Honor and personal relics of Napoleon. Descriptions of marble busts of Napoleon sometimes include the dreaded phrase “accident au nez.”

## PRINCE NAPOLEON

**Bank Leu, Zürich. *Monnaies et Medailles Napoleoniennes*.**

**I. Teil 22 Oktober 1974.**

**2. Partie 15 Oktober 1975.** Featured is the collection long in the care of the surviving branch of the House of Bonaparte, descendants of Jerome King of Westphalia. Cataloged by the late Jean-Paul Divo, this historical collection was exceptionally rich in gold examples. Handsomely designed and lavishly illustrated, but severely limited in medal descriptions, these catalogs impart a real sense of the majesty of their subject that has seldom been achieved in the history of medal auctions.

**Adolph Hess, Luzern; Bank Leu, Zürich. *Napoleon et son Temps, Vente Publique* 33, 13 Avril 1967.** Remarkably complete roster of Napoleonic medals with black and white illustrations including a panorama of representative medals of the Emperor’s adversaries.

**Münzen und Medaillen GmbH, Weil am Rhein. Auktion 24, *Sammlung Dieter Schwering, Napoleon I und seine Zeit*. 19 Oktober 2007.** This remarkably full listing of French revolutionary and Napoleonic medals offered the modern collection assembled by dedicated German collector Schwering (born 1932, died 2001). The listings direct some attention to the question of Prägedaten or Dates de Frappe of French medals. Without printing descriptions of each medal’s rim markings, the catalogers offer at least some guidance to this complex question.

**Myers, Robert J. and Schwartz, Frances M. *Napoleon and his Family, Coins and Medals, 1796-1840*.** Fixed Price List without publication date by a noted New York numismatic auction photographer who was also a famed connoisseur of both ancient coinage and medallic art.



## RICARD

**Charles J. Ricard Collection. Heritage, April 29, 2018.** This famed Napoleonic collection was assembled by a noted numismatist, past president of the Rochester (New York) Numismatic Association (RNA) and long-time member of the Chicago Coin Club. He was honored by a portrait medal in the ongoing RNA Presidential series, one of which was specially reengraved to present “Charles A. Ricard as Napoleon.”

Ricard (1930-2017) formed his collection of Napoleonic medals completely in his younger years. It was displayed at the 1962 American Numismatic Association convention in Detroit, where Ricard received the first place Burton H. Saxton award for this exhibit. Following the convention, Ricard placed the collection in a bank vault where it remained, undisturbed, until being turned over to Heritage Auctions in preparation for the May 2018 sale. The highlight of the Ricard consignment was a period leather case traced to an 1814 Paris sale that contained 131 bronze Napoleonic medals.

**Jacques Schulman N.V., Amsterdam. Collectie G.H. Krone (erste gedeelte), Collection Kortebach, incl. Ordres et Décorations de la Révolution française et de Napoléon Ier. 18-21 maart 1963.** This catalog includes a typically wide and well-illustrated selection of Napoleonic coins and medals by the premier family-owned Dutch auction firm based in Amsterdam for more than a century.



## A NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

Unless specified, all medal photos in this book are of pieces in the author’s collection. The American Numismatic Society graciously supplied illustrations from its important collection of Napoleonic medals, and the American Numismatic Association in Colorado Springs was equally accommodating. Sharp-eyed readers will note several illustrations of medal reverses from the rare *les Médailles Historiques du Regne de Napoléon le Grand Empereur et Roi* cited above that cast light on the correct chronology of certain medals in the Napoleonic corpus where they appear with different reverses.

# DESIGNERS AND ENGRAVERS

Knowledge of the designers and engravers of Napoleonic medals and coins is absolutely critical to intelligent understanding of the series. Cataloguing without such knowledge can never be considered either professional or adequate.

**Andrieu, Bertrand. (1761-1822).** Prolific creator of Revolutionary and Napoleonic classics with notable portraits. The occasionally censorious Forrer opined, "His work bears the stamp of the epoch he lived in, when Napoleon was the Caesar of a modern Rome; his style combines, as one has said, the noble elegance of the Greeks with the charming truth to nature so much admired in Warin and Dupré. This view would hardly stand if measured with our modern views."

**Borrel, Valentin Maurice. (1804-1882).** Prolific medalist, especially active during the reign of King Louis-Philippe, his chief works occupy four pages of listings in Forrer.

**Brenet, Nicolas Guy Antoine. (1773-1846).** Creator of more than 50 Napoleonic medals under the direction of Denon. Later contributed several designs to James Mudie's British series which Forrer disdainfully noted were "styled National Medals."

**Chavanne, Jean Marie. (1766-ca.1848).** Native of Lyons and creator of a number of medals relating to the city's role in the fields of agriculture, medicine and the arts. Knowledge of his medals has been stunted by his exclusion from Bramsen.

**David d'Angers, Pierre Jean (1788-1856).** Prolific French portraitist famed for his Bronze uniface, odd-shaped portrait "Sketches." A notable opponent of Napoleon, he portrayed Madam Mere in 1845 (Forrer I:531). There also exists a d'Angers single Bronze "Sketch," General Bonaparte, 1837, portraying its subject as a youthful officer of the Republic (Forrer I:528).

**Denon, Dominique Vivant. (4 Jan. 1747- 27 April 1825).** Artist, archaeologist, writer, draughtsman, pioneer in lithography, Keeper of Medal Cabinet under Louis XVI, Director of Museums and of the Mint up to 1815 under Napoleon who made him a Baron. He was the busiest scientist on the Egyptian expedition, thereby coming to Bonaparte's notice. Benjamin Zix' quasi-satirical engraving of Denon in his burrow-like Arbeitszimmer workroom captures the depth of his omnivorous interests and labors. (Zeitz, pp 18, 22)

**Depaulis, Alexis Joseph. (1790-1867).** Contributed several designs of great dignity to the Napoleonic corpus, although most of his busy career was subsequent to the Empire.

**Droz, Jean Pierre. (1746-1823).** Born La Chaux-de-Fonds, Neuchâtel, 1746, died Paris 1823. Drew from early age, accomplished engraver including 1780 medal on Louis XVI-Bishop of Basle alliance, pattern Écu de Calonne. Invented machinery to strike both sides of a coin

plus its inscribed edge with a single blow, then devised method for swift multiplication of dies. Later joined Boulton and Watt, Soho Mint, 1799. Keeper of Coins and Medals for the Directoire, designed 1806-1814 gold 20, 40 Francs; pattern Cent Jours 5 Francs. Thomas Jefferson tried to hire Droz ("Mr. Drost") for the new Philadelphia Mint.

**Dubois, Joseph Eugène. (1795-1863).** Most of this artist's output was post-Napoleonic.

**Duvivier, Pierre Simon Benjamin (1728-1819).** As a youth, he overcame the insane jealousy of his engraver-father, Jean, and flourished under Louis XVI (Comitia Americana medals). He created comparatively few Republican and Napoleonic medals but avoided the guillotine only to be eclipsed during the last 18 years of life. Forrer lists 14 Napoleonic medals by this artist.

**Ferriere, Pierre.** Swiss engraver of Geneve, 1790-1798, created at least eight Napoleonic medals with the youthful general's portrait, dating from the first Italian campaign. (Forrer II:89)

**Galle, André. (1761-1844).** Button engraver's apprentice showing extraordinary natural brilliance and ingenuity. Prolific medalist starting 1792, pattern metal de cloche Mirabeau; medals for Upper Egypt, Napoleon's Coronation and victories, on to the Bourbon Restoration.

**Gatteaux, Jacques Édouard. (1788-1881).** Fantastic producer, created 289 medals 1807-1847, for Napoleon, then Louis XVIII, Louis-Philippe, and beyond.

**Gayrard, Raymond. (1777-1858).** Catholic and monarchist, see medals of Henri V. Served in the Revolutionary army, settled in Paris. Biographer M. Duval recorded 211 or more medals, 78 statues, 41 low reliefs, 46 busts, 101 medallions, 20 carved gems, probably more than 300 medallions in toto.

**George.** Known by a single name, this French artist accompanied Napoleon's brother Louis to Holland, where he created several outstanding portrait medals and possibly designed the new kingdom's Orders and decorations.

**Jaley, Louis. (1763-1838).** This engraver's many important Napoleonic medals included the Pope Pius VII Paris Visit and Napoleonic Coronation, Legion d'Honneur, victories and many Masonic medals.

**Jeuffroy, Romain-Vincent. (1749-1826).** Director Monnaie de Paris, member de l'Institut, Legion d'Honneur, skilled gem engraver. Designed many significant Napoleonic medals of 1796-1815, later medalist for restored Bourbons.

**Lavy, Amedeo. (1796-1826).** Italian engraver active in Revolutionary era and republican coinage, Napoleonic Italian Republic and Kingdom, later for worked for restored House of Savoy.

**Lavy, Carlo. (1765-1813).** Primarily remembered for his Savoyard medals.

**Lienard.** Notable for his many uniface repoussé portrait shells ca. French Revolution and Empire, many displayed under glass domes or lunules.

**Manfredini, Luigi. (1771-1840).** Designed coins of the Cisalpine Republic and of Napoleonic Italy, designed many medals, 1797-1814.

**Montagny, Jean-Pierre. (1789-1862).** Some post 1815 Napoleonic.

**Montagny, Pierre Antoine. (active 1790-1816).** Some Revolution and Napoleonic medals.

**Salwirck, Joseph (Giuseppe). (Born Sweden 1759, died 1820).** Early Revolutionary Italy, Bonaparte victories and early Republics.

**Stuckart, Franz. (1781-1857).** Vienna. Napoleon's second wedding, birth of the King of Rome.

**Tiolier, Nicolas Marie. (1784-1853).** Son of the following, created a few Napoleonic medals.

**Tiolier, Pierre Joseph. (1763-1819).** Brother-in-law of Benjamin Duvivier. Created many Napoleonic coin designs including the famed Tête de Nègre, bare-bones medal listing occupies two pages in Forrer. Later worked successfully with the restored Bourbons.

**Vassallo, Gerolamo. (1773-1919 age 46).** Ligurian Republic, Genoa and Milan Mints later under Austria, some Napoleonic issues including the distinctive pattern 100 Francs with his bust  $\frac{3}{4}$  r.





# DESCRIPTIVE MEDAL CATALOGING

As noted earlier, orderly and replicable cataloging descriptions are vital to the study and understanding of any area of medal collecting. To be truly useful, basic descriptions must include all needed information in definite order, presented in concise and understandable language. Nothing is more trying to a new collector than a cataloger's compulsion to show off just how much he or she knows by ostentatious use of overly complicated technical jargon.

The following description breakdowns illustrate areas of coverage that are most desirable.

**NAME.** Every medal must be assigned a NAME that will be used for all subsequent appearances of the TYPE, such as Battle of Waterloo Medal, 1815.

**DATE** that appears on the medal. Cite date of actual striking in the description if it is known or if it can be determined.

**METAL**, spell out Gold (Or), Silver (Argent), Copper (Cuivre), Bronze, White Metal (Étain), etc.

**WEIGHT** in grams, abbreviation g, especially for precious metal specimens, generally less necessary for base metals.

**DIAMETER** in millimeters and tenths. Avoid inches or fractions, Mionnet scale or other obsolete units that may appear in older descriptions.

**LENGTH x WIDTH** for plaques, plaquettes, ovals.

**THICKNESS** generally only necessary where it may help determine age or distinguish variety.

**SCULPTOR, ENGRAVER, DESIGNER, DIRECTOR.** Abbreviations sc., engr., des., dir.

**REFERENCE NUMBERS**, if available, Bramsen, CGI, Forrer, Zeitz, etc. Whenever they exist, Bramsen numbers are employed in this study, though it is understood that not all readers will have copies of Bramsen available to them.

**DESCRIPTIONS.** Obverse (abbreviation Obv) and reverse (Rev).

**EDGE.** Plain, lettered, ornamented, privy-marked as relevant. See Paris Mint edge marks listed below. **NOTA BENE:** edge descriptions given for the medals described in this work do not imply that all examples of the same type will show identical markings. Each medal is different; the specimens listed here happen to bear the edge characteristics recorded; those belonging to

the reader may be quite different. The author will be happy to receive listings of any and all edge markings that readers may have on medals in their collections. PE = Plain Edge.

Left and right, abbreviate l. and r.

### **Examples:**

Capitulation of Ulm and Memmingen Medal, 1805. Bronze, 40.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Louis Jaley, engr. Bramsen 433, Forrer III:54. Obv Laureate head r. (N.B. unless specified otherwise, "Laureate head" will always mean head of Napoleon). Rev Flying victory crowns Napoleon à la Romain driving speeding biga, XVIII. OCTOBRE. MDCCCXV/ CAPITULATION/ D'ULM. DE. MEMMINGEN/ LX MILLE PRISONNIERES, two tiny kneeling city goddesses below, 60,000 Prisoners! Splendid deep red surfaces. PE.

Battle of Austerlitz - 3 Emperors Medal, 1805. Silver, 40.5mm, 4mm thick, 39.4 g. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Bramsen 446. Obv Laureate head r, BATAILLE/ D'AUSTERLITZ, tiny II. DECEMBER/ 1805 under truncation. Rev Facing laureate heads of Alexander I and Francis II (Holy Roman Emperor, soon renumbered Francis I Emperor of Austria), names behind. Pale gunmetal pearl-gray, a few hairlines of old cleaning. PE with two raised segmented collar lines.



# NAPOLEON AND HIS FAMILY

Father. There are no contemporary medals of his parents, **Carlo Buonaparte** (born 1746, died 1785), descendant of minor Tuscan nobility settled on Corsica. Carlo was able to prove his family's nobility to French authorities, thus qualifying his son for admission to royal military academies.

Mother. **Maria Letizia Ramolino** (born 1750, died 1829). Madame Mère, strong-willed and relentlessly realistic mother who kept her family going despite her husband's often lackadaisical ways and the vagaries of Corsican struggles. She was portrayed by David d'Angers in one of his Bronze "Sketches" in 1845. Forrer I:531.

## SIBLINGS

**Joseph**, (born 1768, died 1844) married Julie Clary. Eclipsed by his energetic younger brother and always slightly resentful of his own powerlessness as Head of the Family. Made King of Naples and later proclaimed King of the Spains and the Indies before the disastrous collapse of Napoleon's Peninsular intervention. Later dwelt in wealthy exile in New Jersey as Count of Survilliers, 1815-1832.

**Elisa**, (born 1770, died 1829) Princess of Lucca and Piombino with spouse Felice Baciocchi. Hard-driving and possessed of a fine business sense, she reopened the famous Carrara marble quarries and directed production of 1,600 or more marble busts of Napoleon copying an original by Jacques Antoine Chaudet (died 1810).

**Lucien**, (born 1775, died 1840) cool-witted manager of Napoleon's Coup of 18 Brumaire where his brother dithered, became the corrupt Prefect of the Seine. Quarreled with Napoleon over marriage, left France and was named Prince of Canino by Pope Pius VII. His sons were ornithologist Charles Lucien (born 1803, died 1857), and ne'er-do-well Pierre-Napoleon (born 1815, died 1881) who shot yellow journalist Victor Noir in 1870 and nearly triggered a major Paris uprising against Napoleon III. Then it was that the Paris mob first discovered the other uses the Emperor had planned for his broad new Boulevards.

**Louis**, (born 1778, died 1846) later named **Lodewijk Napoleon** (Sometimes Napoleon Lodewijk), King of Holland, Connétable of France. Neurotic, unhappily married to Napoleon's vivacious stepdaughter Hortense de Beauharnais, father of Napoleon III. Rebellious and resentful as monarch of Holland, he stood up for Dutch interests, fled to Austria rather than accept his demotion from kingship and the French annexation of Holland.

**Pauline**, (born 1780, died 1815) first married Gen. Charles V.E. Leclerc, who died of yellow fever in the disastrous Haitian expedition of which Napoleonic historians never speak. She then married Prince Camillo Borghese of the Roman nobility and was made Princess of Etruria

(Tuscany) though without coinage issues. A distinctly free spirit, “Paoletta” led a very active love life and famously posed for Canova’s reclining nude statue of Venus Victrix. She was the only sibling to join the Emperor during his exile on Elba.

**Caroline**, (born 1782, died 1839) spouse of Joachim Murat (Gioacchino Napoleone), Duke of Berg & Cleve, later Grand Duke of Berg, King of Naples. The couple resorted to unexampled treachery to save their crown in 1814. Rejoining Napoleon in 1815, Murat was taken prisoner and shot by the forces of returning Ferdinando IV di Borbone.

**Jerome**, (born 1784, died 1860) first married the beautiful and rich Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore, Maryland in 1803, a union totally opposed by Napoleon. The Baltimore Bonapartes graced American life until the 1940’s. His second marriage was to Princess Catherine of Württemberg. He was made King of Westphalia as **Hieronimus Napoleon**, with subordinate title Prince of France, 1807-1813. Spendthrift, womanizer, “Heliogabalus Napoleon” to many of his subjects, he deserted from the Grand Armée before the invasion of Russia. Lived on to become a star of the early Second Empire.





# EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

Corsica is a Mediterranean island of little wealth, long under lax Genoese rule. Its Italian-speaking population was divided among contending clans noted for the tenacity of their vendettas as part of everyday life. In Napoleon's childhood, the islanders had fought the Genoese and then waged a far more vigorous war for independence against the island's next ruler, royal France.

The Bonaparte Family were on-again, off-again backers of Corsican independence under the leadership of the charismatic hero Pasquale Paoli (born 1725, died 1807). Paoli waged war 1755-1764, being finally defeated in 1769. Making him an early media star, the British gave him asylum and invaded Corsica in 1793, but Paoli finally left the island for England in 1795.

It should be noted that although Napoleon posed as an ardent Corsican patriot during his unhappy years as a penniless military student, as a young soldier of France he totally abandoned all ties with the island, changing the spelling of his name from the Italian form Napoleone Buonaparte to the French Napoleon Bonaparte.

He appeared to lose all interest in the island, its struggle, language and nationality, becoming thoroughly French and forcing the same changes on his siblings. In his later career, he detested all references to himself as the "Great Corsican."

As a youth, he was an avid reader of Rousseau and approved the overthrow of the French monarchy, expressing contempt for the vacillations of Louis XVI. As a young officer, he witnessed and survived the era of the National Convention (Sept. 21, 1792-Oct. 1795) and lived through the bloody bacchanale of the Terror in 1793-1794.

His rapid rise might be said to have begun during the July 1793 British siege of Toulon, in which royalist émigrés took an active part. The siege was relieved in December thanks to Bonaparte's skillful direction of French artillery. He then ignored the wholesale massacre of royalist POW's directed by revolutionist Fouché.

He was closely allied with Paul Barras, erstwhile marquis and now Jacobin, notably corrupt in a time of phosphorescent corruption and soon chief force in the new Directory created on Aug. 22, 1795 under the Constitution of the Year III, which created a Directory of five and two chambers: a Conseil des Anciens (Elders) and Conseil of Cinq-cents (500).

There followed the Day of the Sections, 13 Vendémiaire, l'An IV (Oct. 5, 1795), when Napoleon's artillery provided the needed "Whiff of Grapeshot" from the church of Saint Roche that finally scattered the last active Paris mob or Canaille which Napoleon despised, thus saving the inept Directory.

In his early years, most of the little income he was able to secure went to the upkeep of his nearly penniless family. His appearance at that time was notable for his five-foot six-inch stature, generally unkempt clothing and well-worn boots.

His early love life was highlighted by his pursuit of Désirée Clary, whose sister Julie married his brother Joseph. Fending off Napoleon, Désirée married fellow soldier Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte (born 1763, died 1844), and lived on until 1844, as Desideria Queen of Swedes, Norwegians, Goths and Wends, consort of general-turned-King Carl XIV Johann of Sweden.

Throughout his life, Napoleon never disguised his belief that child-bearing was the greatest role for women. He was never backward in his pursuit of beautiful women, but until 1806 he gave little thought to siring his own heir. In a kind of controlled experiment, he fathered a son by Louise Catherine Eléonore Dénuelle de la Philippe (born 1787, died 1860). This son was known through his raffish life as Count Lèon (born 1806, died 1881).

Far more famous would be his ardent pursuit of the youthful Polish noblewoman Countess Maria Waleska, who would agree to sacrifice her virtue with the consent of her aged husband in the hope of winning Napoleon over to the ideal of restoration of an independent Poland. She would bear him a son, the future diplomat Count Alexandre Waleski (born 1810, died 1868).

The flamboyant “court” of the Directory was the scene of almost limitless debauchery. Madame de Tallien and others frolicked with Barras, a circle including the widowed Josephine de Beauharnais, a creole beauty from the West Indies now just past her prime and one of several ex-mistresses of the insatiable Barras.

On March 9, 1796, she married General Bonaparte despite her notary’s warning that “he owns nothing but his sword.” Part of the marriage deal was the promise of promotion to a major military command along with amounts of cash to further sweeten the deal. Endless salacious British and Royalist lampoons identified the bride as “ex-mistress of Barras,” always spelled “Barrass” in especially scatological British satires.

The young officer undoubtedly loved her, though neither was “faithful” in any absolute sense. “C’est drôle, Bonaparte,” was a famously off-hand remark of the future Empress. He insisted in conversation of Saint Helena, “I never loved her blindly,” but perhaps did protest too much...

The author recalls visiting a sumptuous exhibition of anti-Napoleonic satires and broadsides at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, in February 1975. The museum’s halls echoed with Napoleonic military music which was well matched by the savagery of the limitless panorama of hand-drawn polemic.

The major military command handed to the young Bonaparte was that of the Army of Italy in the 1796-1797 Italian Campaign, which would be followed by the 1798-1799 Egyptian adventure. Despite formidable obstacles, these struggles would propel him to the heights of power in France through the November 9, 1799, Coup of 18 Brumaire, leading to the December 25 adoption of the Constitution of l’An VIII.



# WAR OF THE FIRST COALITION

For our purposes, Napoleon first appears on medals as the victorious General of the Brave Army of Italy in 1796, although the earliest medal listed by Bramsen bears the date l'An VIII (1799). CGI begins its listings with Romaine Jeuffroy's [9] Bataille de Montenotte Medal of 1796, with its geese flying over the globe. CGI 23:E, Todd p. 73. However, this formative medal was not struck until 1806 or later for Denon's series of Médailles restituées, intended to fill in perceived gaps in the series.

Over the centuries, students and collectors have become accustomed to arranging medals of Napoleon by the dates of events they commemorate, but especially with this medal in mind it must be noted that many important pieces were struck years after the events they recall and some may not be found in Bramsen.

The Italian campaigns pitted Napoleon and the French against Habsburg ruler Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor 1768-1806, who would take the title Hereditary Emperor of Austria in 1804. Franz would fight Napoleon in every war but one before the final French defeat of 1815.

After many costly defeats Francis may have recalled the verse, "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube," (Others wage wars, you, happy Austria marry,) and accepted the marriage of his daughter Archduchess Marie Louise to a triumphant Napoleon in 1810.

There is an aura of mystery around the earliest portrait medals of General Buonaparte dated 1796. The first pieces we will examine can be called the Fruits of Victory Medals, created by engraver Pierre Ferrier, who worked in Geneva (1790-1798), and was described by Leonard Forrer as "...best known for his fine medals of Bonaparte, of which at least eight varieties exist, which represent him as First Consul, Chief of the Army of Italy, Liberator, &c; all these dated 1796."

The first of these [4] 1796 Fruits of Victory, Army of Italy Medals, is Bronze silverplate, 41.6mm, 1.9mm thick. (Forrer II:89). The obverse presents a gaunt, rather flat-headed youthful uniformed bust l. with long, untidy hair and legend \*BUONAPARTE GENERAL EN CHEF DE LA BRAVE ARMÉE D'ITALIE. The signature P.F. appears on the truncation.

Unlike the more familiar medals that followed under the Consulate and Empire, none of these earliest medallic portraits are particularly flattering but present Napoleon as he actually was: a youthful, underfed and shabbily dressed officer leading a starving, poorly supplied and neglected army.

The reverse presents a seated, mannish helmeted Minerva holding an oak spray, arm resting on an oval shield with fasces, banners and drum behind. The legends on all three present Bonaparte's exhortation, VOILÁ SOLDATS VALEUREUX LE FRUIT DE VOS TRAVAUX, with tiny 1796\* (Behold Brave Soldiers the Fruit of your Labors). A unique Gold example appeared in the *Prince Napoleon Collection*, 2e partie, lot 12.

Overall, these Plain Edge medals present a curious, Art naif style. Closely related is another [5] Buonaparte General in Chief Army of Italy Medal, 1796 in Bronze, 41.9mm, 3.6mm thick, also by Ferrier. (Essling 693). This design does not appear in CGI, though the illustrated Bronze example bears the post-1880 Edgemark Cornucopia BRONZE at 6:00. This obverse offers the



[4]  
1796 Fruits of Victory, Army of Italy



[5]  
1796 Buonaparte General in Chief, Army of Italy



same boyish uniformed bust facing left with legend BUONAPARTE GENERAL EN CHEF DE LA BRAVE ARMÉE D'ITALIE.

The reverse shows a hand from clouds at right holding a cross-shaped spray of laurel entwined with oak within the same exhortation to his SOLDATS VALEUREUX. Dates in the Revolutionary and Gregorian calendars are omitted. This Plain Edge piece displays coin finish with Mint red around devices and overall light smooth tan patina.

All these medals and many more to come drew upon Greek and Roman antiquity for their major design elements. Figures from mythology and personifications of Liberty, Victory and governance would later appear with the togas, armor and flowing robes of ancient times. Only the early Bonaparte busts appear in modern military costume.

Our third Ferrier medal [6] shows a similar but measurably smaller uniformed bust facing r. with the same inscription, but with spelling D'ITALIE, struck on a thin Bronze silverplate planchet, 41.5mm, 2.1mm thick. The reverse has the same legend and hand from clouds with Oak spray. None of these Plain Edge medals were struck by the Paris Mint, which may account for their obscurity today.

Soon after, the increasingly famous general began spelling his family name in the French fashion as BONAPARTE. His victories in Italy and the beginning of his spectacularly successful organized looting of bullion and works of art from defeated Italian rulers, cities and ultimately the Pope firmly cemented the enthusiastic loyalty of his long-unpaid and under-supplied troops.

The vast wealth he dispatched back to Paris attracted the adulation of the French people and bailed out the virtually bankrupt Directory. These successes also aroused the increasing suspicion of the luridly corrupt politicians of the same Directory, ever watchful for potential rivals in the chaotic political climate prevailing in the capital.

Fearful and suspicious, the politicians resorted to sending out Representants en mission to keep ambitious generals in line. These political hacks contributed to the discontent of many loyal officers, much as Stalin's political commissars would later do in the Soviet Union.

Bonaparte's skill in handling intruding politicians is recalled by the [7] Bonaparte and Faipoult Genoa Recognition Medal struck in 1797 in 50.5mm Bronze with a design by engraver Gerolamo Vassallo (Essling 717, CGI 24B). The obverse bears a long-haired bust in gold-trimmed tunic within legend NAPOLEONE BONAPARTE, in exergue LA LIGURIA/ RICONSCENTE. Recognition of the Republic of Genoa.

The reverse bust l. is that of Representant en Mission C. GUGLIELMO (Charles-Guillaume) FAIPOULT, and the exergue repeats the Recognition of Liguria. This ancient aristocratic republic would soon be superseded by the revolutionary Ligurian Republic, one of the mushrooms springing up in Bonaparte's wake. The plain edge medal shown displays a smooth olive-tan patina. The preferred spelling is now the French form BONAPARTE, but the Italian NAPOLEONE lingers on the obverse.

Vassallo's skill would later make him a Meister der Schwarzmedaille (Master of the Black Medal), pieces highlighted by smooth, satiny black surfaces suggesting graphite. This style can be appreciated by studying the [8] Cisalpine Republic Foundation Medal of 1798. This Bronze, 47.5mm, Plain Edge design was completed with input from Swedish-born artist Joseph Salwirck (rev). (Forrer VI:206, V:320).

The obverse presents another youthful uniformed long-haired Bonaparte bust l. in distinctly more elegant style under a one-word ancient victor's title ALL' ITALICO, Italicus or Conqueror of Italy; signature H. VASSALLO F. appears on base of bust.

The allegorical reverse shows a slender Pallas placing a Liberty cap on standing Insubria (Lombardy) as Victory holds laurels. In exergue is the celebration date IX LUGLIO/ MDCCLXXXVII



[6]  
1796 Buonaparte General in Chief, Army of Italy



[7]  
1797 Bonaparte and Faipoult Genoa Recognition



[8]  
1798 Cisalpine Republic Foundation

9 July 1798, I.S.F. can be seen at right of the base next to a tiny cornucopia. This plain edge medal is slightly double struck, and is almost certainly an original strike of Milan Mint.

[9] Battle of Montenotte Medal, 1796. 40.4mm Bronze by Raymond Gayrard and Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy, engr. Essling 684, Julius 491, Zeitz 1. Obverse presents a distinctly romanticized, prosperous-looking bust r. in tall standing collar and sleek long hair, Gayrard signature below. The reverse is dominated by a winged Victory flying r. over a relief map of Europe from the west coast of Asia Minor to the southern corner of France. As noted above, this medal was actually struck 1806 as a Médaille restituée with a carefully edited portrait with features of the lank young Bonaparte polished into the sleek face of a later period.

At this early stage in his career, Bonaparte as a victorious general was not automatically placed on official medals marking his ongoing triumphs. Heroic themes from antiquity were relied upon, notably on the [10, 2 pieces, brown and red] Victories of Millesimo and Dego Medal, l'An 4. Bronze, 43mm, Plain Edge. Zeitz 2, Essling 685, Julius 494, Todd 41. This was the work of Carlo Lavy, whose initial "L" appears at left end of the exergue line, after a design by Andrea Appiani, this obverse depicts the nude hero Hercules clubbing the 7-headed Hydra of Lerna within legend BATTAILE DE MILLESIMO. COMBAT DE DEGO.

The reverse legend announces LOI DU 6. FLOREAL AN 4me. DE LA REP. around a circle enclosing LE/ PEUPLE/ FRANÇAIS/ `A/ L'ARMÉE/ D'ITALIE. The first dies were cut in Turin in 1797-1798, and later dies were completed in Paris (Zeitz p.36). As a result, some early strikes exhibit red-tan surfaces with carefully hand-filed areas on the reverse rim while others sport faintly but visibly "sway-backed" Plain Edges and deep reflective brown patina. The medal shown exhibits taller lettering than the Essling plate specimen.





[9]  
1796 Battle of Montenotte (same as [5])



[10, brown]  
Victories of Millesimo and Dego



[10, red]  
Victories of Millesimo and Dego



Another bold advance in Bonaparte's first Italian campaign was recorded by Amadeo Lavy's medal marking the successful [11] Passage of the Tagliamento and Capture of Trieste, l'An 5 (1798). Bronze, 43.2mm, Plain Edge. Julius 544 var., Essling 706 var. The obverse is dominated by the astounded river god of the Tagliamento gazing at the spirited advance of the French army through waist-high waters at the left.

It would be tempting to identify the French cavalry commander wielding his sword as General Joachim Murat, future King of Naples and brother-in-law of Napoleon. Similarly, it might be tempting to see Napoleon's features on the Hercules of the Millesimo and Dego medal, but this would almost certainly be romantic fantasy.

The reverse legend announces LOI DU 15. GERMINAL .AN 5me. DE LA REP. around a closed laurel wreath enclosing A/ L'ARMÉE D'ITALIE. In a closed laurel wreath. This Plain Edge specimen displays smooth light reddish-brown patina.

The broad outlines of future Napoleonic designs are coming into view, but another "provincial" issue of the gaunt earlier portrait style is the 43.9mm, 4-6 to 3.7mm thick Copper medal inscribed [12] BUONAPARTE GENERAL EN – CHEF DE L'ARMÉE D'ITALIE, designed by Jean Marie Chavanne. Forrer I:417, Todd p. 149. This obverse presents another long-haired uniformed bust l. above tiny CIV. ET ART. LUG. OFF. (Offered by the Citizens and Artists of Lyons).

This city, devastated in revolutionary battling in l'An III, was much favored by Bonaparte, who later mandated that its silk should outfit his entire imperial court. This piece is boldly struck in blackened Copper on a somewhat crudely prepared planchet varying in thickness from 4.7 to 3.3mm. The reverse is inscribed BUONAPARTE L'ITALIQUE LE 26 Vre L'AN VI. (1797) around a seated Liberty holding an Olive branch and cornucopia. The Latin honorific ITALICUS appears here in its French form l'ITALIQUE.

The reverse exergue holds a laudatory three-line assertion, IL NE COMBATTITIQUE POUR/ LA PAIX ET LES DROITS/ DE L'HOMME (He Fights but for Peace and the Rights of Man). On the base below Liberty is the signature CHAVANNE F. Surfaces display an uneven black patina over red copper, all details are bold despite most uneven thickness. This Plain Edge Medal in unlisted in Bramsen, Essling, CGI and such modern references as Zeitz but is illustrated by Todd.

[13] Treaty of Campo Formio Medal, 1797. Bronze, 55.8mm by Benjamin Duvivier, engr. Zeitz 7, Essling 726, Julius 575. Obv Youthful bust of long-haired uniformed Bonaparte r. as General in Chief of the Army of Italy, Offered to the National Institute by Benjamin Duvivier at Paris. Rev Victory goddess holding a tiny Apollo Belvedere hovers over Bonaparte on a prancing war horse. By now, his victories enabled Bonaparte to treat with enemies almost as a chief of state.





[11]  
*Passage of the Tagliamento and Capture of Trieste*



[12]  
*General-in-Chief of the Italian Army*



[13]  
*1797 Treaty of Campo Formio*

# OCTOBER 17, 1797

Deciding somewhat prematurely that the new French dominance in Italy was assured and that the newly established republics would endure despite the measurable lack of enthusiasm shown by the newly liberated populations, Bonaparte now resolved on his most exotic adventure, the invasion of Egypt.

The goal of this extraordinary expedition was to menace Britain's overseas empire in India, where vigorous Anglo-French rivalry had only been decided in Britain's favor in 1763. A distraction in Egypt would help overcome the overwhelming British control of the seas by a campaign on land. Failure to achieve mastery of the seas would haunt Napoleon's entire career.

A French flotilla successfully eluded Horatio Nelson's Mediterranean fleet, pausing on the way to capture Malta from the governing Knights of St. John. Landing at Alexandria on July 1, 1798, the French defeated the forces of Egypt's little-loved Mamluk rulers at the dramatically named Battle of the Pyramids on July 21, and went on to occupy Cairo.

Disaster struck on August 1, when Nelson arrived and attacked the French fleet anchored off Aboukir. Tightly packed together, the French ships were unable to maneuver and the fleet was effectively annihilated, cutting off the French expedition from Europe. The Ottoman Sultan, nominal overlord of Egypt, chose this moment to declare war on France on September 11, allying himself with Russia and Britain.

Napoleon led his French forces overland into Syria in February-May but was unable to capture the old Crusader port of Acre that blocked further advance. The French army was ravaged by plague and Napoleon became aware that all was not going well back in Paris or northern Italy. His enemies would later assert that before retreating, Napoleon ordered euthanasia for French wounded that could not be moved to spare them a more horrible death in the event of local capture.

Endemic and continuing resistance by local Muslims joined with the unrelenting climate, disease and guerrilla struggle to wear down the invaders despite such propaganda efforts as circulating rumors that Bonaparte was preparing to convert to Islam. The Egyptian expedition would be remembered by some of the most colorful medals in the Napoleonic saga.

Especially appreciated in modern times were the far-reaching historic, scientific and geographic findings of the gallery of 167 scientists and historians that Bonaparte brought with him to Egypt. These explored the route of the ancient Suez Canal, and among their many archeological discoveries was the Rosetta Stone that made possible the deciphering of ancient Egyptian inscriptions.

Another long-lasting benefit of the Egyptian expedition was Napoleon's acquisition of the scholarly, artistic and practical services of the remarkable Dominique Vivant Denon (born Jan. 4, 1747, died April 27, 1825). Acclaimed as artist, archaeologist, writer, draughtsman, pioneer in lithography and Keeper of the Medal Cabinet under Louis XVI, polymath Denon later was made Director of the Imperial Museums and of the Medal Mint before Napoleon's downfall in 1815.

Napoleon ennobled Denon with the title of Baron and worked closely with him in creating most of the medals chronicling his conquests and achievements that would be struck by the reactivated Monnaie des Médailles, inevitably inscribed DENON DIR.





While Denon labored diligently on most of the medals known to collectors today, a parallel medal series was being charted in total obscurity by the French Academy's Commission des Inscriptions et Médailles as part of the Classe d'Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne. (See bibliography above).

Patterned after earlier medallic academies of Sun King Louis XIV, this ponderous Commission quietly labored in the bowels of the Louvre from July 1806 to February 1814 to develop a massive *Histoire Métallique de Napoleon Empereur et Roi*. Detailed drawings or sketches of 156 medals were completed but only one was ever struck, the Battle of Jena Medal, 1806, by André Galle. (See below, Bramsen 537).

Under the restored Bourbons, no medal glorifying "the man whom shame forbids one to mention" could possibly be tolerated. The completed work of the commission effectively vanished, reappearing in the early 20th century in a deluxe hard cover book assembled by the great French numismatist and curator Ernest Babelon, *Les médailles historiques de règne de Napoléon le Grande, Empereur et Roi*.

As noted in the bibliography above, this massive French-language volume bore the imprint of the far-off American Numismatic Society, New York 1912 led by the philanthropic Archer M. Huntington.

The Great Pyramids appear on four other Napoleonic Egyptian medals. Smaller diameter pieces of 1810 by Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux (CGI 25:H and I, 32 and 27mm) marked the [14] Conquest of Lower Egypt (Basse-Égypte) with a reclining Roman style Nile river god from a statue in the Vatican collection and a perspective of the three pyramids.

A colorful medal dated l'An VI (1798) marks the 1798 [15] Battle of the Pyramids. CGI 26A, Todd p. 81. This work of Jean-Joseph Dubois and Antoine Bovy presents Bonaparte standing, haranguing his troops before the looming pyramids with the exhortation, "Soldiers! From the heights of these Monuments 40 centuries gaze down upon you!" Battle of the Pyramids, by Brenet. Zeitz 8.

The first piece inscribed DENON. D. was the [16] Conquest of Egypt Medal, 1798, a particularly fantastic design actually struck in 1808. Depicted is the 40.5mm Bronze with signatures Denon Dir., Julien-Marie Jouannin (obv), and Nicolas Brenet (rev). (Essling 766 var., Julius 661 var., CGI 26:D, Zeitz 10.)

Its unique obverse presents a facing, almost childlike undraped Napoleon bust below a crown of lotus blossoms. Most known examples show die rust filling part of the narrow space between flowers and hair. This unique obverse shows neither legend nor inscription, only the signatures J. JOUANNIN. D. DENON D. along the curving base of the bust.

Its marvelously ornate reverse depicts Napoleon triumphator in a Roman-style chariot drawn l. by richly caparisoned dromedaries which convey a wonderful feeling of motion. A winged Victory flies above, about to pass between Cleopatra's Needle and Pompey's Pillar at left. The exergue is inscribed L'ÉGYPTE CONQUISE above Roman numeral date and signatures BRENET F., DENON D. This Plain Edge example displays a deep red mahogany patina.



[14]  
1810 Conquest of Lower Egypt



[15]  
1798 Battle of the Pyramids



[16]  
1798 Conquest of Egypt

Dated l'An VII, 1798 is André Galle's 36mm [17] Conquest of Upper Egypt Medal, actually first struck in 1806. (Zeit 9, Essling 769, CGI 27:G). This distinctive obverse bears a male ancient Egyptian bust facing l. in a Pharaoh's cloth headdress and cobra crown. It is a testimony to the ignorance of ancient Egyptian history that generations of collectors accepted identification of this bust as the female goddess Isis, as CGI still states. It is now known to be a portrait of the male ruler Amenophis III.

The reverse showing a crocodile chained to a date palm was adapted from a silver denarius of Octavian of 28 BC. These medals helped trigger the explosion of ancient Egyptian artistic styles throughout France and abroad that followed Napoleon's expedition.

As noted above, Nelson's rampage through the French ships at Aboukir had stranded Napoleon and his army in the Middle East. In his absence, the Directory grew steadily more corrupt and incompetent while Austria and her newly arrived Russian ally set aside the treaty of Campo Formio and assailed the Napoleonic republics in northern and central Italy.

General Suvorov's troops rampaged across northern Italy, where the newly implanted republics were quickly swept away. The client states established in central and northern Italy such as the Parthenopean, Roman, and Cisalpine Republics were brushed aside.

Napoleon's next move was dramatic but inexorably logical and ignited more debate among military historians than most of the events of his early career. This was his decision to leave his army and return immediately to France. He passed the command to the able General Jean-Baptiste Kléber, who was promptly assassinated by a Muslim fanatic. The less competent Gen. Menon succeeded him and soon arranged the army's repatriation to France by convention with the Ottoman Sultan.







[17]  
*1806 Conquest of Upper Egypt*



# RETURN TO FRANCE: SEIZURE OF POWER

Napoleon concluded a nearly miraculous journey across an English-controlled Mediterranean and landed at Fréjus on Oct. 9, 1799 (17 Vendémiaire l'An VIII). This success was marked by Galle's [18] Bonus Eventus Medal, 1799, Bronze, 33mm, hailing the ancient Roman god of good luck and fortunate voyages, showing a small sailing ship arriving under Napoleon's Star of Destiny. Zeitz 11, CGI 27H.

It might be reiterated that Napoleon expressed a strong preference for French inscriptions and legends, though the savants working in the shadowy recesses of the Louvre wrote of their determination to use Latin, "the language of all European savants." As we shall see, Latin did insert itself into several of Denon's Napoleonic designs despite his Master's stated preferences!

Wasting no time in setting out for Paris, Bonaparte was amazed at the enthusiasm and warmth of his welcome by the French people of every class. The only distraction was a dramatic confrontation between the returning general and his wife Josephine, whose dalliance with the young hussar Hippolite Charles had created an international scandal. A reconciliation was patched up and Napoleon was now ready for his next gigantic step toward total domination of France.

Napoleon and his brother Lucien immediately launched the Coup d'Etat of 18 Brumaire l'An VIII (Nov. 9, 1799), mobilizing the military forces around Paris and dismissing the Directors, including the long-surviving and shamelessly corrupt Barras into well-heeled retirement. Troops now invested St. Cloud and prepared to oust the legislators.

Bonaparte initially fumbled his attempt to address the Conseil d'Anciens, alleging that he had just saved the republic from unnamed plotters but speaking somewhat incoherently and exhorting waiting soldiers to remember that "I march forward accompanied by the gods of war and fortune."

He withdrew and entered the noisily hostile Conseil des Cinq-Cents. Never an accomplished orator, he appeared to lose his nerve when cries broke out of "Down with Cromwell! Outlaw Bonaparte!" and hostile legislators mobbed him despite the efforts of his brother Lucien to control the session from the rostrum as president of the council.

Extricating his now thoroughly confused brother from the riotous assembly, Lucien then signaled a company of grenadiers commanded by General Joachim Murat to forcibly clear the chamber. The deputies fled on foot, out doors and windows, scattering their red togas as they ran.

The rump assembly now appointed three Consuls to guide the republic: Bonaparte, Abbé Sieyès and Roger Ducos. The population of Paris evinced little sorrow at these developments, which marked the operational end of republican government as they had known it.

Paris in the wake of the Coup was a shabby, run-down and chaotic city exhausted after years of violent political contention. The national government was bankrupt, the army unpaid and the national debt ignored amid a sea of graft and incompetence at every level.

Napoleon's long-suffering secretary Louis-Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne later wrote, "Everything had to be created," national law, government, administration, finance, education



[18]  
*Bonus Eventus Medal*

and even the social order. The name République Française remained but under totally different conditions.

One immediate change ordered by the First Consul was a sudden end to the virtual nudity displayed by fashionable women at official gatherings. Napoleon noisily ordered an enormous fire to be lit during a consular party to provide warmth, “because these ladies are virtually naked!”

A new permanent executive was now “elected,” consisting of three Consuls. First Consul was Bonaparte, initially for a 10-year term; Second and Third Consuls were Jean-Jacques-Régis de Cambacérès and Charles-François Lebrun (later Duc de Parme and Duc de Plaisance respectively) essentially as consultative assistants.

The legislative branch would consist of a Senate which chose the Legislative Bodies, consisting of a Tribune and a Legislature. Senators were appointed for life; the Tribunes discussed laws submitted by the government but could not vote on them, while the Legislative Body could vote but not discuss.

Soon all of French law would be transformed by the Code Napoleon that remains largely in place today. The traditional provinces had been abolished, and all traces of autonomy vanished in the prefectures into which France was now divided. Everything was now subjected to the central authorities in Paris and Napoleon’s Ministry of Police was on hand to assure continued order and tranquility.







# WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION

Having reestablished orderly government in Paris, the new First Consul set out to salvage the collapsing French position in northern Italy where Gen. Masséna was starving with his besieged army in Genoa. Bonaparte reasoned that the French situation could only be saved by bringing his army of 30,000 across the Alps to confront the victorious Austrians.

Bringing an army over the Alps through the Great Saint Bernard Pass in Spring was a daring move, but transporting its heavy artillery was another daunting task which Napoleon met head on with stunning success. The glorious historical canvas by David showing Bonaparte in full uniform, cape blowing in the wind astride a rearing white horse with French artillery rolling in the background on wheeled carriages is entirely fictional. His actual steed was a less romantic, more sure-footed mule!

Many of the cannon were massive Gribeauval guns, named for French inspector of artillery Jean-Baptiste Vaquette de Gribeauval (born 1715, died 1763) whose far-reaching reforms made French artillery the best in the world. The author can testify to the weight of such guns, having hands-on experience with moving a Gribeauval cannon at Miami's Historical Museum of Southern Florida in 1972.

Weighing more than 2,500 pounds and mounted on a carriage crafted from railroad ties, that cannon, inscribed L'HORATEUR, the Speaker, was recovered from a French shipwreck off the north coast of Haiti, a relic of the disastrous expedition that claimed the life (among hundreds of others) of Bonaparte's brother-in-law General LeClerc.

It took a crew of six volunteers and a heavy-duty industrial-strength steel cable winch half a day to manhandle the cannon from a loading dock to its exhibit location across a flat, obstacle-free concrete surface. Imagining moving such a weight up the stony, nearly vertical track of the Alps amid snow and ice and then man-handling it down the other side without losing control staggers the imagination.

Capturing some of this drama was the [19] Passage of the Alps & Battle of Marengo Medal, l'An VIII. Bronze, 41mm, 4.2mm thick Plain Edge. By Étienne Jacques Dubois, engr. (Bramsen 37, Essling 833, Zeitz 12, CGI 29E). Important details of this medal's design are obscured by the small planchet. The obverse presents a full-length winged Victory which at first glance appears to be driving a two-horse chariot or biga.

Closer inspection shows that she is standing on an ornate cannon of the Duc de Maine type being pulled by two spirited horses. In exergue is a five-line inscription, L'ARMÉE FRANÇAISE/PASSE LE ST. BERNARD/ XXVIII FLOREAL AN.VIII/ MDCCC above two artists' signatures. Limited space available prevented the engravers from clearly detailing the gun's mounting on one of the scores of hollowed-out tree trunks laboriously prepared by Pioneers of the French Army.

Upon such trunks each cannon would be laboriously dragged to the peak by as many as 100 men and then slid down the far side to the plain below. The massively built wheeled gun carriages were turned turtle, then humped and bumped over the same rocky path, which would otherwise have shattered their wheels.



[19]  
*Passage of the Alps & Battle of Marengo*

The reverse design is obscure and somewhat labored, having none of the drama of the obverse. BATAILLE DE MARENGO and twin palm fronds enclose a ring holding 11 keys symbolizing the taking of 11 Sardinian and Austrian fortresses, XXVIII PRAIRIAL AN VIII/ MDCCC.

More satisfying in size and heft but almost certainly of later date, not included in the Palmer purchase nor appearing in Laskey is the 59mm Bronze [20] Passage of Alps & Battle of Marengo Medal, 1800, by Pierre Antoine Montagny after Bertrand Andrieu. (Bramsen 33 var, CGI 29:F, F.70). This busy obverse presents Napoleon's undraped bust r. perched on a tablet flanked by captured Austrian flags, oak, laurel and arms heaped at the base.

This tablet bears a detailed battle scene with a multiplicity of tiny figures, including the dying form of Gen. Louis Charles Antoine Desaix within the legend, BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANSe. exergue BATAILLE DE MARENGO/ LE XXVI PRAIRIAL/ AN VIII.

The reverse presents Bonaparte on a spirited charger, preparing to ascend the Alps, right arm raised, hurling lightning and flame with a tiny distant village l., exergue PASSAGE DU Gd. St. BERNARD/ LE XXV FLOREAL/ AN VIII, MONTAGNY F. D'APRÉS ANDRIEU on exergue line. Although this scene suggests David's heroic 1801 painting, it is actually very different. Missing are the names BONAPARTE, HANNIBAL and KAROLVS MAGNVS carved in the rocks!

Bonaparte faces resolutely forward and no artillery appears in the background. As noted above, he actually crossed the mountains mounted on a mule. Edgemark C-Bronze and dull olive-tan patina identify a post 1880 strike.

Napoleon never ceased to mourn the fallen Desaix. Among his memorials is the [21] Death of Gen. Desaix at Marengo Medal, l'An 8 (1800). Silver, 32.5mm, 2.3mm thick, 13.4 g. By P.G. Liénard, Engr. (Bramsen 47, Forrer III:435). The obverse bears a uniformed, high-collar bust r., legend LE GENral. DESAIX NE À AYAT EN 1768, below TUÉ AT LA BATI. DE/ MARENGO LE 25 PRAIAL. AN 8.

The reverse offers an 8-line French tribute, BRAVE JUSTE/ IL DEFENDID KELL/ CONQUIT LA Hte ÉGYPTE/ SCELLA A MARINGO (sic) LA VICTOIRE DE SON SANG/ ET CRAIGNIT EN MOURANT/ D'AVOIR TROP PEU FAIT/ POUR LA POSTÉRITÉ.

This example is boldly prooflike, Plain Edge with one bold segment line. *Ex Shepard Pond Boston Collection, Edward Gans NY June 1, 1948.*

Bonaparte's continued consolidation of power was bitterly opposed both by surviving Jacobin Exclusifs and active Royalists striving to restore the exiled Comte de Provence, who had claimed the title Louis XVIII upon the death of the "Lost Dauphin" in 1795.

Threats to the First Consul included plots against his life. The most dramatic expression of royalist enmity was marked by the 50mm Bronze [22] Cadoudal Assassination Attempt Medal, l'An 9 (1801), by Henri Auguste (1759-1816), engr. (Bramsen 76. CGI 31:G). The obverse bears the First Consul's youthful uniformed bust l., with signature H. AUGUSTE. on the truncation.

The legend above proclaims AMOUR DU PEUPLE FRANÇAISE POUR LE PREMIER CONSUL, exergue ATTENTAT/ A LA VIE DE BONAPARTE/ 3 NIVOSE An 9/ DE LA REP., Love of the French People for the First Consul, Attempt on the Life of Bonaparte 3 Nivose An. 9 of the Republic.

The reverse is occupied by a 10-line inscription attributing to Bonaparte greater concern for the bystanders, 10 of whom were killed and 28 wounded, than for his own safety, LES CITOYENS/ VOLONT EN FOULE VERS LUI./ AMIS. CE N'EST PAS A MOI/ QU'IL FAUTE VENIR:/ QU'ON AILLE/ QU'ON AILLE AU SECOURS/ DES MALHEUREUX/ QUE LA MACHINE INFERNALE/ A PU FRAPPER. Plain Edge, pleasing red-tan patina.

This attempt was made on Christmas night, 1800 by Royalists. Inspired by Georges Cadoudal, the "Terrible Georges," Breton veteran of the bloody Chouan war in La Vendée. Paris' Royalist agent Hyde de Neuville brought in fellow conspirator Chevalier de Limöelan.





[20]  
1800 Passage of Alps & Battle of Marengo



[21]  
1800 Death of Gen. Desaix at Marengo



[22]  
1801 Cadoudal Assassination Attempt



Borrowing an idea initially hatched but then rejected by the Exclusifs, their plan called for a large barrel with iron hoops, filled with gunpowder, shot and other shrapnel-like debris to be left in a wagon parked on the approach to the Opéra. Leaving a young girl of the neighborhood to hold the head of the old and weary hired horse, Limöelan lit the fuse and ambled away.

The fuse burned too slowly, and the bomb went off later than hoped, shattering the carriage windows but sparing Bonaparte who went on to appear before the cheering public at the Opéra. The bomb killed 10, wounded 28, damaged 46 houses. Limöelan was not apprehended and fled to America.

There he was ordained priest, later creating an elaborate memorial and expiatory chapel in the Convent of the Visitation in Georgetown, Maryland. Still praying for forgiveness, he died and was interred there Sept. 28, 1826. Still standing, the chapel was adorned with mosaic portraits of Louis XVIII and Charles X.

All-inscription reverses distinguished the [23] Seine Department Defenders of the Republic Column Medals, 1800. Bronze, 55.5mm and 41.8mm, by Benjamin Duvivier, engr. (Bramsen 64, 61 var., Forrer I:688). Obverses present a single uniformed bust of BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL r. over names CAMBACÈRÈS SECOND CONSUL/ LEBRUN TROISME. CONSUL/ DE LA REPUBLIQUE/ FRANCAISE.

The reverses present a seven-line cornerstone-laying inscription, LE PEUPLE FRANÇAIS À SES DEFENSEURS /line/ PREMIERE PIERRE/ DE LA COLONNE NATIONALE/ POSÉE PAR/ LUCIEN BONAPARTE/ MINISTRE DE L'INTERIEUR/ 25 MESSIDOR AN 8/ 14 JUILLET 1800. Red-brown patinas with the slightly concave Plain Edge characterize old strikes.

Napoleon's independent-minded brother Lucien had saved the day while Napoleon dithered during the coup d'état. He proved fantastically corrupt in office and his marriages angered Napoleon, who planned a royal match for him. Lucien went into exile in the Papal States rather than divorce his second wife.

As noted earlier, Pope Pius VII later created him Prince of Canino. Few of these earliest monuments to victories of the Republic would ever be built, or even proceed beyond the Premier Pierre stage. The medals had to serve in place of the never-completed memorials!

The conclusion of the Treaty of Lunéville, Feb. 9, 1801 between Austria and France ratified the earlier Campo Formio cessions to France which now also gained the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics were now recognized.

The first moves toward peace brought well-nigh universal celebration, especially in France, though less from the First Consul who was never convinced of the actual value of peace. The cessation of war was hailed by the [24] General Peace Medal, 1801-1802. Bronze, 53mm, by Bertrand Andrieu, engr. (Bramsen 201, CGI 35:E).

The obverse presents a distinctive youthful bare bust r. within titles BONAPARTE Ier CONSUL – DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. The reverse which CGI attributes to Charles-Norbert Roëttiers, displays a winged angel inscribing À/ LA GLOIRE/ DES ARMEES/ FRANÇAISES on an oval shield atop trophy of weapons, banners, cornucopia, cannon and serpent. In exergue appears PAIX GENERALE/ 1801-1802. This Plain Edge example displays a handsome deep red-brown patina.

As distinctive is the [25] Peace of Lunéville Medal, l'An 9 (1802), Bronze, 57.2mm, one of the last designs by Pierre Simon Benjamin Duvivier, engr. (born 1728, died 1819), (Bramsen 105. C BRONZE. where it was described as “not struck until after the July [1830] revolution.”) The obverse shows a craggy young bust l. with extended truncation, legend BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL, GENERAL A MARENGO., tiny signature B. DU VIVIER below.



[23]  
1800 Seine Department Defenders of the Republic Column



[24]  
1801-1802 General Peace Medal



[25]  
1802 Peace of Lunéville



The reverse displays France as Minerva under a spreading palm holding olive branches to river gods of Po, Tiber r., Rhine and Danube l. LA FRANCE VICTORIEUSE, exergue PAIX CONTINENTAL/ A LUNEVILLE/ AN 9. The edgemark C-Bronze, and coin finish, glowing copper-red with diffuse purple highlights.

Forrer notes that Duvivier flourished under Louis XVI, but faded rapidly from the front rank as Bonaparte advanced. He is best remembered in America for his designs in the Comitia Americana medal series struck in Paris for the Continental Congress.

This medal is from a Napoleonic collection struck to the order for an American family of Baltimore ca. 1885, consisting of medals boasting highly distinctive coin finish, most with prooflike surfaces displaying jewel-like sheens of red, emerald, blue.

The prevailing celebratory mood is personified by the [26] Peace of Lunéville, Good Fortune to the Continent Medal, 1802, Bronze, 55.2mm by Jean Pierre Droz, engr. (Bramsen 106, Julius 902). C. BRONZE. This distinctive obverse bears a narrow, young, short-haired bust l. in high-collar uniform and legend, BONAPARTE PR. CONSUL DE LA REP. FRAN. A minute signature J.P. DROZ F. AN IX/ 1801 appears at base.

The reverse presents a brilliant sun rising at l. illuminating an olive-crowned half-globe with FRANCE at top, ANGLETE... at r., legend BONHEUR AU CONTINENT, exergue PAIX DE LUNÉVILLE/ AN IX./ 1801. Good Fortune indeed, a fiery prooflike copper-red obverse joins a flashing light blue-gold reverse with a fine vertical die crack from the globe crossing several rays.

Perhaps less dramatic in design in the [27] Peace of Lunéville Medal, An IX (1802) by Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Bronze, 42mm. (Bramsen 108). This obverse bears a small uniformed bust r. with short hair, surrounded by a large-letter legend, BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRAN.SE. Reverse presents Peace standing l. holding cornucopia and extending olive branch, PAIX DE LUNÉVILLE, exergue LE XX. PLUVIOSE/ AN IX. Olive tan patina, Plain Edge.

Key provisions of this treaty involving Italy are recalled by the [28] Ancient Italian Republic Revived Medal, l'An VI, 1802, Bronze, 45.5mm, by George, engr. (Bramsen 193, Essling 954, CGI 35:D). The obverse presents a craggy-featured bust r. in high-collar consular uniform, like other early portraits a blend of the early long-haired likenesses and the smooth-featured Augustan styles to follow.

The legend asserts ANTIQUA ITALORUM RESPUBLICA RESCUSITATA. A.VI. A. NAPOLEONE BONAPARTE, The Ancient Republic Reborn, maintains its Existence under a Different Star. Rev Brilliant sun over tall tree, stream and vineyard, PUBLICARES ALIO PRODUCIT SIDERE VITAM., SUMMA POPULI IN/ TRIBUS COLLEGIIS/ POTESAS./ MDCCCII, Highest Power of the People (maintained) in three Colleges.

Tiny script signature George. ft on truncation identifies an engraver later active in the Napoleonic Kingdom of Holland who always signed his work with the single name GEORGE. This medal displays an unattractive dull matte olive-gold patina which obscures far more than it beautifies, possibly explained by the post-1880 edgemark C-BRONZE.



[26]

*1802 Peace of Lunéville, Good Fortune to the Continent*



[27]

*1802 Peace of Lunéville*



[28]

*1802 Ancient Italian Republic Revived*



[29] Treaty of Amiens, Mar 27, 1802, between Great Britain and France. Numismatic links between Consular France and the newborn United States are recalled by an exciting coin-relief medal for the 1802 Peace of Amiens, created by Swiss-born engraver-medalist Jean-Pierre Droz (born 1746, died 1823).

As we noted above, American Envoy Thomas Jefferson devoted much effort attempting to recruit this multi-faceted artist-inventor whom he always called “Mr. Drost” for the new Philadelphia Mint. Droz stayed in Europe, though a few pioneer collectors of Large Cent credited (or blamed) him with some of the crudest early cent dies.

Droz was a skillful inventor and innovator in die creation and coin production, who joined in the competition of Napoleon’s earliest portrait coinage designs of the Years XI and XII of the Revolutionary calendar (1802-1803). (VG, Monnaies Françaises, 1229; Gadoury, Monnaies Françaises, 567). His portrait obverse design was then placed on the 37-millimeter coin-relief medal featuring this tautly muscular head l. with close-cropped hair and abbreviated titles BONAPARTE PR. CONSUL DE LA REP. FRAN.

This was made the obverse of Droz’ Retour d’Astrée, Peace of Amiens Medal of 1802, (Bramsen 199, Essling 959, Zeitz 23). The medal was slightly larger than the five francs but bore the same head and legend, with tiny signature DROZ F. on the truncation. The pictorial reverse presented a scene from Greek antiquity, the return to earth of Astraea, goddess of justice and innocence, last deity to leave Earth after end of the mythical Golden Age, LE RETOUR D’ASTRÉE.

Droz’s skill at invention is demonstrated by his segmented collar or virolle brisée, which created raised lettering between raised borders, PAIX GÉNÉRALE A AMIENS AN DIX MDCCCII (caduceus), General Peace of Amiens Year 10, 1802. This 40.2mm, 3.25mm thick medal shown displays coin relief and bright prooflike copper-red coin finish. In the past the coin-like relief caused some hopeful dealers to offer specimens as pattern Écus.

An interesting variety of this medal [30] (Bramsen 200) is identical in design but measures 39.5mm with a thickness of only 2mm. Much thinner than the preceding, this Plain Edge example shown has a coppery-red obverse contrasting with a prooflike silver-blue reverse, rotated several degrees. Close study reveals very faint concentric lines in the field and a die crack slanting up from rim below.

The beginning of restoration of internal peace in France was noted by the [31] Restoration of Religion (Concordat) Medal, l’An X (1802), Bronze, 50.4mm, 1.44mm thick, PE. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. (Bramsen 213). The obverse bears a large bare head r. NAPOLEON BONAPARTE - PREMIER CONSUL.

The reverse shows standing Prudence with mirror and serpent holding the wrist of seated Religion with Bible, cross. The towers of Notre Dame appear at l. Fasces with shield, coq and fulmen appear at center, church ruins r. RETABLISSEMENT DU CULTE, exergue LE XVIII GERMINAL AN X (8 April 1802).

It should be remembered that Bonaparte was born Catholic and displayed a shifting and ambivalent attitude toward the faith, suggesting at one time that the church was of positive value to his subjects, though he himself could do without it! Near the end of his life, he dictated a statement of seemingly sincere appreciation of the ancient faith to his then-secretary las Cases.



[29]  
1802 Treaty of Amiens



[30]  
1802 Peace of Amiens



[31]  
1802 Restoration of Religion (Concordat)

A second example [32] displays a fine reflective light glossy red-brown, 50.9mm, 1.36mm thick, Pointing Hand CUIVRE. A contrasting example of the same Restoration of Religion Medal, l'An X (1802), exhibits light tan-brown surfaces with faint traces of mint red at the rims. Its edgemark is Pointing Hand-CUIVRE.

Particularly impressive in the [33] Peace Interior & Exterior, Promulgation of the Treaty of Amiens Medal, l'An X, 1802. Bronze, 68mm, by Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy, engr. (Bramsen 218). The obverse bears uniformed busts r. of three Consuls, Bonaparte Premier Consul above Cambacérès Second Consul, Lebrun Troisième Consul.

The reverse is inscribed LE CORPS LEGISLATIF AUX CONSULS DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE, PAIX/ INTÉRIEURE,/ PAIX/ EXTÉRIEURE., below a double line, / ARRÊTÉ DE 30 FLORÉAL AN X./ 20 MAI/ M DCCC II. Deep reflective brown fields show a few ancient toned-over scratches. Plain Edge.

Showing an unusual date is the 33.5mm Plain Edge Bronze [34] La Fortune Conservatrice Medal, 1802, l'An 4 de Bonaparte. By Nicolas Brenet, engr. (Bramsen 275). Obv Youthful head l., signatures incl. DENON DIR. below. The reverse bears a ship with Fortune at tiller, sail spread under the 6-pointed guiding star of Bonaparte's Destiny, A LA FORTUNE - CONSERVATRICE. Exergue BRENET/ L ' AN 4. DE/ BONAPARTE.

This medal boasts deep glossy brown patina, the only appearance of CGI's Effigy 26 and one of the only uses of this odd form of date, soon rendered obsolete by the abandonment of the Revolutionary reckoning and resumption of the Gregorian calendar.





[32]  
1802 Restoration of Religion



[33]  
1802 Peace Interior & Exterior, Promulgation of the Treaty of Amiens



[34]  
1802 La Fortune Conservatrice



After years of warfare and governmental upheaval, it was again possible to commemorate peaceful achievements, such as completion of the [35] Bridge over the Durance Medal, l'An XI. 1803. Bronze, 42mm, by Bertrand Andrieu, engr. (Bramsen 277, CGI 37:G). Obv Youthful draped bust r., of the now Life Consul, NAPOLEONI BONAPARTE, PRIMARIO R.F.G. CONSVLI PERPETVO.

Minerva stands on the reverse, hailing the river nymph of Durance with her gushing urn and wheel, LOCVPLETATORI GALLIAE, exergue PONTE DRVENTI DECRETO ET/ INCOEPTO. A. XI. J.A. CHAPTAL/ REGIM. INTER. ADM. M.A./ BOVRDON VALCL./ PRAEF, noting roles of Interior Minister J.A. Chaptal and Prefect M.A. Bourdon. Plain Edge, subdued olive-tan.

Modern collectors tend toward careful separation of the worlds of medals and coins. An enigmatic 26mm Bronze piece is the [36] Gengembre Process Medal, Year X (1804), by E. Jaley, engr. (Forrer II:239). The obverse bears a gaunt head l. with somewhat untidy hair, legend BONAPARTE Ier CONSUL \*. The reverse legend PROCEDE DE GENGEMBRE MECn. DES MONNe. surrounds a laurel wreath enclosing L'AN/ . X .

Near 12:00 is evidence of old piercing, while the edge is inscribed incuse A LA PATRIE AUX SCIENCES. Philippe Gengembre, Mecanicien des Monnaies 1796, invented improved coining methods, including punching planchets from strip and striking with dies in one operation, possibly applying edge lettering here in same blow. Forrer calls the present medal a pattern coin, illustrated by line drawings (Forrer II:239).

Related is the 15.2mm White Metal mini-medal inscribed [36a] NAPOLEON EMPEREUR around a laureate head by Tiolier, a plain-edge piece whose reverse bears an ancient oil lamp with flame above XII, legend PROCEDE DE PH. GENGEMBRE. Gengembre's grandson addressed the New York Numismatic Club, detailing his forebear's achievements during 1914!





[35]  
1803 Bridge over the Durance



[36]  
1804 Gengembre Process



[36a]  
1804 Gengembre Process

# MEDALS OF THE FIRST EMPIRE

Richard A. Todd's *Napoleon's Medals – Victory to the Arts*, (History Press, Stroud, Gloucestershire UK, 2009) posits a close interrelationship between Napoleon's "acquisition of Italian works of art by the French armies" and French insistence that their transportation to Paris "would advance the cause of art itself." Napoleon himself can be shown to have shared this belief, and the captured art certainly did have a vast influence on development of the French medal.

The irrepressible Vivant Denon gloated over the arrival of the celebrated Venus de Medici, and quickly created a medal presenting her nude form and sent it posthaste to Napoleon as "without doubt the most beautiful work of art." Later he added, "Jamais plus beau trophée de Victoire! Perhaps the most beautiful trophy of Victory!" "Victory to the Arts" fell in line with Denon's insistence that "only in Paris could great art be studied properly and only there was it safe." (Todd, op. cit. p.9.)

[37] Venus de' Medici - Victory to the Arts Medal, 1803. Bronze, 40mm. By Romain Vincent Jeuffroy, engr. (Bramsen 280, Zeitz 28, Forrer III:73). This obverse presents a unique, rugged youthful head r. with bold, deeply jagged truncation, JEUFFROY FECIT/ 1803/ DENON DIR. G. D.MUSEE, C.D. ARTS.

The reverse depicts the famed standing nude statue of Venus, Goddess of Love from Florence, legend AUX ARTS LA VICTOIRE. At base is once again the seldom-employed date L'AN IV DU CONSULAT DE BONAPARTE. Light brown surfaces of this Plain Edge example show a tic or two and unusual coin turn (reverse upside down if medal is turned on its vertical axis).



[37]  
*1803 Victory to the Arts*



Further medals relating to Napoleon's gathering in of captured works of art include [38] Opening of the Musée Napoléon, Bab, LI, p.117, 1802; [39] Salle de l'Apollon, 1804. Zeitz 31, Br370. Andrieu. 34.4mm; and [40] Musee Napoleon, 1804. Zeitz 32, Br.367 " 34.2mm.





[38]  
*Opening of the Musée Napoléon*



[39]  
*1804 Salle de l'Apollon*



[40]  
*1804 Musee Napoleon*

# MEDALS OF NAPOLÉON EMPEREUR

First Consul Bonaparte was elevated to the purple when the Constitution of l'An VIII was amended with the simple statement, "the administration of the Republic is entrusted to an Emperor..."

For our purposes, two portrait pieces especially fitting to introduce the listing of Napoleon's medals as Emperor of the French, though their actual dates of production and first appearance are uncertain. These bronzed Lead medals are continuations of engraver Bertrand Andrieu's profitable series beginning with uniface medallions on such events as the Fall of the Bastille and the Return of the Royal Family to Paris. Public sale of such pieces brought the artist fame and wealth.

[41] Napoleon Emperor Uniface Medal, Ca. 1804. Lead-filled Bronze shell, 68.5mm, by Bertrand Andrieu. (Bramsen ---, Forrer I:53). High relief laureate head l., raised signature ANDRIEU F. on truncation, single-title legend announces NAPOLÉON - EMPEREUR. The smooth surface shows much copper-red patina.

These Cliché medallions were intended for wall display in brass frames under domed glass covers or lunules. Unprotected specimens quickly acquired edge nicks and field scratches on their soft surfaces. This specimen's reverse bears traces of old glued paper as often seen on contemporary Lead medal or pattern coin splashes of this era.

[42] Josephine Empress and Queen Medal, 1805. Lead-filled Bronze Cliché, 67.8mm by Bertrand Andrieu. (Bramsen 303, Forrer I:53). Draped bust r. in diadem, necklace and droop ear rings, titles JOSEPHINE IMP. ET. REINE. Intended as a companion piece to the preceding, this medal became an embarrassment after the Emperor's divorce. Here Josephine is given two titles; the Emperor only one. Red-brown patina shows scattered tiny tics. Both ex Virgil M. Brand Collection.

Sale of sets and single examples of Andrieu's Clichés continued for years after Napoleon's downfall despite the vigorous official opposition of the restored Bourbons. The American Numismatic Association's Money Museum in Colorado Springs houses a deluxe large-size album style book (xx x xx mm) housing 10 uniface clichés of Andrieu's most classic Napoleonic medals. [42a, not pictured]

These uniface impressions are all Lead-backed Bronze impressions, originally protected by domed glass coverings or lunules which proved highly breakable. The book is constructed of leather-covered wood with cloth stretched over the interior "pages." All of these features are highly perishable, and pristine examples are virtually unknown today.





[41]  
*ca. 1804 Napoleon Emperor Uniface*



[42]  
*1805 Josephine Empress and Queen*



# MINIATURES

A distinctive feature of the Napoleonic medal series after 1803 were tiny mini-medalets, such as Romaine Vincent Jeuffroy's 13.8mm Bronze [43] Negotiations with England Medalet, 1803 (Bramsen 267, Essling 1927), and the 13.5mm Silver piece with head in casque and a reverse head as Emperor [43a]. These minuscule obverses present Napoleon's head r. in Attic helm decorated by a bust of the goddess of Victory with legend ARMÉ POUR LA PAIX, Armed for Peace.

Following medieval ideas of wildlife behavior, the first reverse shows a stork "in its vigilance," holding a stone to be dropped into the water at the first sign of danger to alert other feeding storks, flanked by olive branch and thunder bolt. The signature on this minute piece announces the inevitable DENON DIR(ecteur) G(eneral) MUSÉE C(entral) D(es) ARTS.

Many leading Britons deplored the Treaty of Amiens as too favorable to Napoleon and charged Lord Cornwallis with excessive generosity or gullibility. Napoleon loudly blamed Britain for resuming the war with the [44] Rupture du Traité d'Amiens, 1804. Bramsen 1904, Essling 995, Zeitz 25. Here the British lion ("leopard" is shown destroying the scroll of the treaty.



[43]  
*1803 Negotiations with England*



[43a]  
*Armed for Peace*



[44]  
*1804 Rupture du Traité d'Amiens*

As to the works of peace, a major civil achievement was marked by the [45] Code Civil Promulgation Medal, 1804 by Brenet, Bronze, pale red-tan patina, 42.2mm. (Bramsen 291). Here is another design based on a captured classic work of art, the Minerva of Velletri which was greeted ecstatically by Denon upon its arrival in Paris on Dec. 7, 1803 and was visited by the imperial couple on Dec. 19.

The goddess was promptly adopted to celebrate the promulgation of the epic body of civil law universally known as the Code Napoléon. The obverse shows her extending a tiny scroll in her left hand, holding a tall spear in her right within legend EN L'AN XII. LE CODE CIVIL EST DECRETÉ.

The reverse shows a standing laureate figure of the Emperor in Roman attire holding another tiny scroll as if he had just received it from the goddess, within legend NAPOLEON EMPEREUR. This medal is unique in relegating Napoleon to a reverse and is not included in CGI.

This standing figure is based on the statue by Antoine Denis Chaudet (born 1763, died 1810), planned for the Column of the Grand Armée but actually exhibited in the Legislative Chamber. By this time, Chaudet's busts of Napoleon had attained virtual "canonical" stature in official portraiture, but after his death in 1810 this leading position soon passed to Antonio Canova.





[45]  
*1804 Code Civil Promulgation*



# MEDALS OF NAPOLEON'S ENTHRONEMENT

The constitution having been amended; it was now necessary to enthrone the new monarch with appropriate ceremony. The ancient coronation rites of the Kings of France at Reims were ruled inapplicable and famed artist Jacques-Louis David set to work to plan grand new ceremonials and to prepare designs for every aspect of the monumental event to be held in the cathedral of Notre Dame.

The cathedral was restored to Christian worship after years of (to Catholics) blasphemous excesses under the revolutionary Republic. These included the worship of a Goddess of Reason, personified by the beautiful actress and courtesan Thérèse-Angélique Aubry whose life on and off-stage had been, as later Victorians would say, “highly irregular.”

Behind the scenes there was much ferment over the return of monarchy. German composer Ludwig van Beethoven, crossed out the subtitle of his *Third Symphony Buonaparte* and retitled it *Sinfonia eroica composta per festeggiare il sovvenire di un grand uomo*. Closer to home, the new Emperor's siblings launched an uproar over the granting of imperial titles to Napoleon's wife Josephine, her daughter Hortense and Joseph's wife Julie (“foreign women!”), while making only the most inadequate distribution of new dignities to his own brothers and sisters and their spouses.

He finally answered their strident complaints, “To listen to you anyone would think I had stolen your inheritance from the late King our father!” Even after receiving greater honors, his sisters still resisted carrying Josephine's heavy and elaborate train to the high altar during the coronation ceremony and intensified their all-too-Corsican vendetta against the empress.

By a combination of blandishments and threats, Napoleon induced Pope Pius VII to journey across the Alps and on to Paris to take a prominent part in the ceremony on Dec. 2, 1804. This was to be as much an anointing as a coronation, following to a degree the rite of Christmas Day in the year 800 when Pope Leo III had crowned Charles (Charlemagne) King of the Franks as Emperor of the West.

[45a] Bab. LXXI, p.159. Napoleon was determined not to allow the pope to actually crown him after his anointing. By prior agreement he seized the gold laurel circle and placed it on his own head, then placed it on the head of the kneeling Empress. The Pontiff had been prepared for this ceremonial step and merely looked on with resignation.

There was no medallic hint of the unseemly scramble of the night before, when Josephine informed the Holy Father that she and “Bonaparte” had never been married in the church. Pius had received limitless abuse (“traitor, apostate, Jacobin”) from Catholics opposed to the Revolution and Republic, exiled French Bishops loyal to the church and opponents of Napoleon (“the Antichrist!”).

Crowning an unmarried couple, however, was too much! A religious marriage was quickly and silently arranged and in this process the Pontiff finally learned that the bride's name was not Victoire but Josephine.

Notable commemoratives of this event include the [46] Napoleon I Coronation Medal, 1804. Silver, 32.2mm, 2.7mm thick, 14.9 g. Designed by Bertrand Andrieu after Antoine-Denis Chaudet,



[45a]  
*Arrival of Pope Pius VI in Paris for Napoleon's Coronation*



[46]  
*1804 Napoleon I Coronation*

directed (as now usual) by Denon. (Bramsen 327, Essling 1927, Julius 1263). This obverse presents a rather gaunt laureate head r. wholly unlike the form of medal that is still offered as CGI 52B.

On the reverse a Senator and farmer-warrior uphold an ancient shield on which stands the Emperor in coronation robes, holding a tall scepter within legend LE SENAT ET LE PEUPLE, exergue AN XIII. At left is an open book with six lines of dots suggesting texts of laws, at right an upright plow. It might be noted that Napoleon loathed this lifting on shield and made certain that it was not included in the actual ceremony to the disappointment of old republican soldiers.

The example shown shows scattered marks and light wear suggesting use as a pocket piece by loyal recipient. Some 70,000 13-millimeter Silver miniatures were struck and thrown to the crowds as largesse after the ceremony.

Another small-diameter piece presumably intended for wide public distribution was the [47] Napoleon Coronation Jeton, dated l'An XIII (1804). This unsigned 31.7mm Bronze (Bramsen 335) presents a laureate bust r. in the full Coronation robes of Lyons silk, mantle and Collar of the Legion d'Honneur, within the Caesarean legend NAPOLEON VENIT VIDIT. VINCIT, Napoleon came, saw, conquered.

A votive altar on the reverse holds a generic arched crown, crossed scepter and Main de Justice under the motto of the Legion d'Honneur, HONNEUR ET PATRIE, exergue COUR. L. II. PRIM./ AN XIII., at base JETTON. This is a curiosity, as the modern French spelling is JETON, applied to a class of medallic counters often viewed by "true numismatists" as vulgar, popular and beneath notice!

This coin finish example displays fiery copper-red patina and post-1880 edgemark Cornucopia-BRONZE. This specimen is one of many Napoleonic medals struck by the Paris Mint for the influential Maryland family visiting ca. 1885.

[48] Coronation Festivities Medal, 1804, Bronze, 36mm, by Nicolas Guy Antoine Brenet. (Bramsen 359, CGI 53E). This obverse presents conjoined portraits of NAPOLEON and consort JOSEPHINE r. The reverse a laureate eagle resting on a rocky mountain top with Latin legend FIXA PERENNIS IN ALTO SEDES, He Fixes his Seat Forever on the Summit. It is believed that this medal was struck for distribution at the Coronation banquet. The portraits have been criticized as "caricatures" (Zeitzy) with anatomically incorrect truncations.

Quietly impressive as these pieces are, they are eclipsed by the next issue, the 68mm Bronze [49] Napoleon Coronation Fêtes Medal, 1804 (Bramsen 358) which really ushers in the imperial medallic mood which now becomes the Napoleonic standard. The work of engravers André Galle (obv), Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy (rev) and designer Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, this medal bears a truly Augustan laureate head l. with Latin legend NEAPOLIO IMPERATOR.

The reverse shows Napoleon as a Roman emperor seated in a curule chair, holding an eagle-topped scepter receiving the city goddess of Paris who stands before the prow of an ancient galley from the city Arms. Between them, hailed by a tiny cherub from the prow is the Emperor's Star of Destiny bearing the tiny initial "N" and legend TUTELA PRAESENS, Present Protection. The exergue notes Solemn Repast tendered to the Emperor, Hotel de Ville, Frimaire An 13.





[47]  
1804 Napoleon Coronation Jeton



[48]  
1804 Coronation Festivities



[49]  
1804 Napoleon Coronation Fêtes, first example



The “protection” was from any return of the bloody chaos which had disfigured the early republic. Two examples of this stately medal dramatize the changing visual impact of different patinas on the same classic design. The first Plain Edge piece shows a deep, smooth chocolate patina of an early strike. The second, [50] though essentially identical, displays the brassy yellow patina of the 1920s and incuse edgemark Cornucopia BRONZE.

Sharp-eyed numismatists will observe that the plain edge strike pictured here, like the specimen appearing as cover art on the Zeitz’ *Napoleons Medaillen* shows several exceedingly fine “rills” in the surface of the cheek and neck, described as Ein Netz von feinen Linien über dem Hals lässt auf Risse in Prägestempel schliessen. These are not die cracks but rills in the working die that also appear on the medal illustrated here and on the obverse of the 1810 Duc de Montebello Funeral Medal which was struck from the same die.

Underlining the increasing importance of the medal in the developing Empire was the issue hailing the [51] Medal Mint Re-Opening in 1804 (Bramsen 379). This 41.5mm Bronze, 2.8mm thick medal was another work of Andrieu, directed by Denon, who was to play an enduring role in the restored facility’s operation. Its obverse is that of the Italian Coronation with its distinctive laureate head r. NAPOLEON – EMPEREUR.

On the reverse classic figures of History and Art stand with a balancier coin press inscribed FACTIS PROROGAT/ AEVVM. Its Work Promotes the Age. This specimen’s jewel-like coin finish gives its obverse an exquisite ruby and deep blue with a contrasting blazing red reverse, a colorful finish with 1880’s edgemark Cornucopia-BRONZE.

The Emperor was not yet finished with coronations. The patchwork of ephemeral Italian republics was now amalgamated into the new Kingdom of Italy, of which he was solemnly crowned King in May 1805 with the historic Iron Crown of Lombardy. This elaborate medieval gold circlet was believed to be constructed around a nail of the True Cross and by its use Napoleon asserted his legitimacy as successor to Charlemagne.

[52] Napoleon Italian Coronation Medal, 1805. Bronze, 40mm by Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Louis Jaley (rev), engrs., Denon. Dir., (Bramsen 419). The obverse bears a gaunt-featured laureate head r., legend NAPOLEON EMPEREUR. Rev Minutely detailed Iron Crown, presenting a circle of angels and saints with inscription AGILVFUS. GRATIA. DEI. GLORIOSVS. REX., Agilolf, Glorious King by the Grace of God, 591-615 AD.

At this ceremony, Napoleon crowned himself without the Pope’s help or presence and no mention was made of his consort Josephine. The reverse legend announces in French NAPOLEON ROI D’ITALIE, exergue COURONNÉE. À. MILAN/ LE. XXIII. MAI./ M.DCCC.V. Omitted from the design was the defiant challenge, God Gave it to Me, Let him Beware who touches it” Plain Edge, light red-brown patina. *Ex Barney Bluestone, Syracuse NY.*

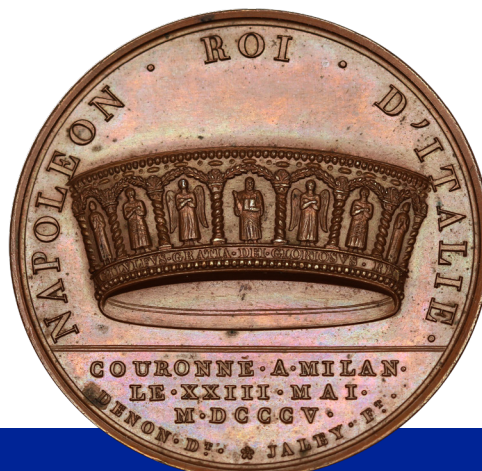




[50]  
1804 Napoleon Coronation Fêtes, second example



[51]  
1804 Medal Mint Re-Opening



[52]  
1805 Napoleon Italian Coronation

# WAR OF THE THIRD COALITION

There are a few “flashbacks” in the Napoleonic medal saga, notably the [53] Desaix St. Bernard Pass Monument Medal, 1805, Silver, 26.5mm. By J.P. Droz, engr. (Bramsen 426.) The obverse bears a resolute laureate head l. of NAPOLEON EMPEREUR above tiny DENON DIR./ DROZ FECIT. The reverse presents an antique tomb-monument with bas-relief of a fallen charioteer, legend NAPOLEON AUX MANES DE DESAIX, exergue Liere PIERRE POSÉE PAR/ L'EMPEREUR XXIV/ PRAIRI AN XIII.

Desaix' embalmed body reposed in a mountaintop tomb in the Alps until the Emperor ordered it moved to a more secure location within a church on Mont Saint Bernard. Plain Edge, *Ex Shepard Pond Collection. Edward Gans, June 1, 1948.*

Despite the enthusiastic celebrations of Peace that greeted the treaties of Amiens and Lunéville, war returned in 1805 between the Third Coalition of Britain, Austria, Russia and Sweden and the French Empire. When hostilities resumed, Napoleon was at the great camp he had created at Boulogne, where the vast Grand Armée was being assembled for the invasion of England.

Historians still debate whether the Emperor seriously intended this cross-channel invasion. He never wholly accepted the importance of sea power, and the British would assign greater importance to their fleet's great victory at Trafalgar over the French and Spanish fleets than did the Emperor. However, the millions of Francs spent on the Channel ports and their army facilities strongly suggest a serious design upon England. Millions expended on a feint, however elaborate, make little sense.

However that may be, two medals relating to the hypothetical cross-Channel invasion deserve mention. [54] Preparations against England Medal, 1804. Bronze, 41mm. Bramsen 320, CGI:51D, By Jean-Pierre Droz, engr. Obv Laureate head r., NAPOLEON EMPEREUR, below, Rev Hercules chains English “Leopard,” EN L'AN XII 2000 BARQUES SONT CONSTRUITS, DENON. DIR.

In the medieval language of English heraldry, the British lion was often named “leopard.” The “barques” on the reverse of the Preparations medal are generally translated as “flat-bottomed boats” designed as troop transports requiring relatively good weather on the notoriously stormy Channel.

A piece that has aroused lively controversy was created to mark the invasion of England, [55] Descente en Angleterre Medal, 1804. Bronze, 40mm. By Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy, engr. Bramsen 365, CGI 51:E. Bramsen 365. By Jean-Pierre Droz, engr. Common types: Obv Laureate head r., JEUFFROY FECIT, DENON DIREXIT, or DROZ FECIT.

Rev Nude beardless Hercules raises fin-footed merman from the ground, preparing to dash him to earth, DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE, in exergue FRAPPÉE A LONDRES, Struck in London. Bramsen 365 has FRAPE in place of FRAPPEE and bears an edge inscription COPIED FROM THE FRENCH MEDAL. Created by Sir Edward Thomason as a patriotic exercise for sale in England, as Bramsen notes “many years later.”

Demonstrating the amazing flexibility and endurance which brought victory after victory to French arms, the Emperor abruptly abandoned his English plans and marched his army





[53]  
1805 Desaix Sr. Bernard Pass Monument



[54]  
1804 Preparations against England



[55]  
1804 Descente en Angleterre



from the English Channel across the German states to encircle the 30,000-man Austrian army commanded by the aged General Karl Mack at Ulm in what became Württemberg. Murat went ahead to destroy Archduke Ferdinand's 20,000-man army, forcing him to surrender 12,000 prisoners including seven generals and the army's treasure.

After days of marching and fighting in dismal and unceasing rain, during which the Emperor shared all of his soldiers' privations, the French defeated the Austrians. Mack surrendered Ulm, with over 27,000 soldiers, 18 generals plus battle flags and artillery. The defeated general tendered his sword to a standing Napoleon with the cry, "Voici le malheureux Mack, behold the unfortunate Mack!" Since he was not one of the Archdukes, Mack's humiliation could be written off with far less regret by Emperor Francis.

Victories and medals now succeeded one another with amazing speed, beginning with the [56] Capitulation of Ulm and Memmingen Medal, 1805. Bronze, 40.5mm, by Bertrand Andrieu and Louis Jaley, engr. (Bramsen 433). The obverse presents one of the increasingly standardized laureate Napoleon heads r. From this point on, "laureate head r. or l." should be assumed to mean "head of Napoleon."

The reverse captures a flying Victory crowning Napoleon à la Romain driving a speeding biga, XVIII. OCTOBRE. MDCCCV/ CAPITULATION/ D'ULM. DE. MEMMINGEN/ LX MILLE PRISONNIERES, two tiny kneeling city goddesses symbolize Ulm and Memmingen below. This Plain Edge example presents splendid deep red surfaces. 60,000 prisoners!

The sometime subtle differences between early strikes and later are exemplified by two examples of the [57] Capture of Vienna & Pressburg Medal, 1805, by Bertrand Andrieu (obv), André Galle (rev). (Bramsen 443). The design is nearly identical, the obverse bearing a laureate head r., NAPOLEON EMP. ET ROI. Rev Napoleon à la Hercule, receives kneeling city goddesses, exergue PRISE DE VIENNE/ ET DE PRESBOURG/ MDCCCV.

The Plain Edge Silver medal is 40.3mm. 4mm thick. The relief signature ANDRIEU F. appears on the truncation, weak and partial DENO (N) D (IR). in the field below. [57a]. The Bronze is 41.4mm, 3.8mm thick with two curving lines of signature in the field below the truncation, ANDRIEU F./ DENON DIRT. Both reverses are signed DENON D. and GALLE F. below exergue line. Bronze shows light brown-gold patina, incuse C-BRONZE on edge. The Zeitz plate piece shows only ANDRIEU F. on truncation.



[56]  
1805 *Capitulation of Ulm and Memmingen*



[57]  
1805 *Capture of Vienna and Pressburg*



[57a]  
1805 *Capture of Vienna and Pressburg*

The [58] Capture of Vienna Medal, 1805, Copper bronzed, 45mm was by Luigi Manfredini, engr. (Bramsen 444, Forrer III:554). The distinctive obverse presents a stern Napoleon head l. in Corinthian helmet bearing his Star on the visor, eagle and Jupiter's thunderbolt, laurel wreath and curious serpent crest with legend *NAPOLEO GALLORVM IMPERATOR ITALIAE REX*.

A mourning city goddess is seated on the reverse with ancient armor and sword r. with double eagle shield and monogram *F II* of the defeated Habsburg Emperor within legend *VINDOBONA CAPTA. ANNO. MCCCXV*. Vienna Captured, 1805. In exergue is a tiny *MEDIOLANI*, at Milan. Struck by Milan Mint with rounded Plain Edge, boldly reflective fields.

At least four medals recall Napoleon's greatest victory: Austerlitz in Moravia, 2 Dec. 1805. French dead 1,300, 6,500 wounded; enemy 16,000 dead and wounded, 11,000 taken prisoner, armies of both Austria and Russia effectively destroyed through Napoleon's mastery of the terrain, careful employment of infantry, skillful disposition of artillery, shattering force of carefully deployed cavalry. Remembered forever after was the appearance of the legendary "Sun of Austerlitz" that burst through clouds to illuminate the day of victory.

[59] Battle of Austerlitz Medal, 1805. Silver, 40.4mm, 3.7mm thick, 36mm, Plain Edge. By Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Louis Jaley (rev), engr. (Bramsen 445). Obv Laureate head r., *EMP ET ROI*. Rev Winged Jupiter's thunderbolt and scepter of Charlemagne with eight stylized lightning bolts, *BATAILLE/ D'AUSTERLITZ*, tiny *II. DECEMBER/ MDCCCXV*, *M.DCCCXV [JALEY.F]* – This example displays pale steel toning, hairlines of old cleaning. This design was reportedly ordered by the Emperor after he was shown and rejected an *épreuve* of the Andrieu design.

[60] Battle of Austerlitz - 3 Emperors Medal, 1805. Silver, 40.5mm, 4mm thick, 39.4 g. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. (Bramsen 446). Laureate head r. legend *BATAILLE/ D'AUSTERLITZ*, minute *II. DECEMBER/ MDCCCXV* below truncation. Rev Laureate heads *vis á vis* of Alexandre I, Francois II with names behind. Pale gun metal pearl-gray, a few hairlines of old cleaning. Plain Edge with two raised segmented collar lines.





[58]  
1805 Capture of Vienna



[59]  
1805 Battle of Austerlitz



[60]  
1805 Battle of Austerlitz - 3 Emperors



[61] Battle of Austerlitz - 3 Emperors Medal, 1805. Silver, 41.4mm, 3.3mm thick, 35.4 g. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. (Bramsen 446). Types as last, edge C-ARGENT at 5:00, pearl-gray patina. Here is another study pair, the earlier showing much greater visual vitality overall.

[62] Two Emperors' Interview at Urchitz Medal, 1805. Bronze, 41.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu after Antoine-Denis Chaudet, engr. (Bramsen 452). Obv Laureate head r. EMP. ET ROI. Rev Napoleon as laureate armored Roman hero extends hand to Francis II in antique garb, French standard at center with defeated banners on ground. During this historic meeting, Emperor Franz requested an armistice to forestall further losses of retreating troops including the Russian cavalry, many of whom drowned in the partially frozen swamp that blocked their escape.

Raised die spikes extend from the Austrian figure. Exergue ENTREVUE DE L'EMP. NAPOLEON/ ET L'EMP. FRANÇOIS II./ À URCHITZ LE IV. DÉCEMBRE/ MDCCCV. Close study reveals that À in exergue looks like Á, I in IV started as an O. Deep red, flaming red-orange surfaces, Edge C-BRONZE, Maryland Collection ca. 1885. Another major result of Austerlitz was the forced recognition of Napoleon as Emperor and King.

Napoleon's sojourn in Vienna is also recalled by one of most dramatic of all issues, the [63] Paris Mayors' Schönbrunn Homage Medal, 1805. Bronze, 67.8mm. By Nicolas Brenet (obv), André Galle (rev), engr. (Bramsen 453, Essling 1109 not plated). On the obverse winged Fame blows trumpet, holding a scroll inscribed IMP./ VRBI/ SVAE, under legend DE GERMANIS, (Victory over the Germans).

In exergue is the four-line PRIMITIAE . BELLI . ARMA . ET . SIGNA . MILITARIA / E . MANVBIIS . VERTINGENS (IBVS)/ CIVITATI . DONATA/ VI . ID(US) . OCT (OBRIS). Implements of War, Arms, Banners taken from the Enemy at Vertingen offered to the City of Paris, Six Days after the Ides of October 1805.

This reverse announces PANNONIA SVBACTA, Pannonia Subjugated. Napoleon and Marshal Murat stand in ornate lobster-tail, eagle-greaved armor to receive the Mayors, seated river goddess of Schönbrunn lying at their feet r. Exergue Mayors of Paris Present their Actions of Grace to the Emperor Napoleon, Returned Conqueror in the Pleasaunce of the Emperors, Late Ides of December 1805.

Napoleon stands on a low platform, raising him subtly to the same height as the taller Murat. The segmented armor worn by emperor and marshal was appropriated from the Habsburg military collections, and has fascinated medal collectors ever since.

This style of armor continued to intrigue later numismatists and coin designers, and may be seen on the German Empire, 1901 Centenary of Prussia as a Kingdom Bicentenary two and five-Mark silver commemoratives (Jaeger 105, 106): German East Africa silver coins (J.711-714, 720-722) and Romania Carol II Nickel 50 Lei, 1937-38 (KM 55).

This medal's distinctive style has led to suggestions that its novel design was prepared by Daru's Commission on Inscriptions and Medals, but Zeitz identifies the concept with Ennio Quirinio Visconti (born 1751, died 1818), independently of the commission, which did not include the event itself in its own roster of proposed but never-issued medal designs.



[61]  
1805 Battle of Austerlitz - 3 Emperors



[62]  
1805 Two Emperors' Interview at Uchitz



[63]  
1805 Paris Mayors' Schönbrunn Homage

[64] Peace of Presbourg Medal, 1805. Bronze, 40.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr., after Jean-Baptiste Lepère. (Bramsen 455). Obv Laureate head r. Rev. Temple of Janus with closed doors signifying Peace, PAIX DE PRESBOURG/ XXVI. DECEMBRE/ MDCCCV. Pressburg, Hungarian Poszony, Slovak Bratislava, was a metropolitan center with a rich history. Light brown, Plain Edge.

French capture of Vienna was celebrated by the [65] Te Deum in St. Stephen's Cathedral Medal, 1805. Bronze, 40.2mm. By J.P. Droz (obv), Betrand Andrieu (rev), engr. (Bramsen 461). The Napoleon heads on French medals were now fairly standardized, here the laureate head r. is placed within a finely beaded border.

The reverse presents the single-steeple façade of St. Stephen's Cathedral within legend ACTIONS DE GRACE POUR LA PAIX, exergue stating ORDONNÉS À VIENNE/ PAR L'EMPEREUR NAPOLEON/ LE XXVIII DECEMBRE/ MDCCCV. Actions of Peace Ordered by the Emperor... Light brown patina, Plain Edge.

[66] CAPTURE OF VENICE, 1805. Andrieu, Brenet. Bramsen 460. Rialto Bridge... Napoleon's





[64]  
1805 Peace of Presbourg



[65]  
1805 Te Deum in St. Stephen's Cathedral



[66]  
1805 Capture of Venice

conquests were now extended to the Adriatic littoral, recorded by the [67] Conquest of Istria Medal, 1806. Bronze, 40.5mm. By Nicolas Brenet, engr. (Bramsen 512). No beading surrounds this laureate head r. The reverse is dominated by the façade of the Temple of Augustus and Roma at Pola near the southern tip of the peninsula of Istria within legend TEMPLE D'AUGUSTE A POLA, in exergue L'ISTRIE CONQUISE/ AN MDCCCVI. Red-brown, Plain Edge.

Next followed the [68] Conquest of Dalmatia Medal, 1806. Bronze, 40.5mm, by Nicolas Brenet and J.P. Droz, engr. (Bramsen 513). The obverse laureate head r. and legend NAPOLEON EMP. ET ROI, are framed by another finely beaded outer border, minute DENON DIREX./ MDCCVI beneath truncation

The reverse identifies the octagonal building depicted as TEMPLE DE JUPITER A SPALATRO, known in the 20th century as as Spálato, or Croatian Split. In 1922 Italian nationalist Gabriele d'Annunzio demanded cession of this important port to Italy, in accordance with the secret Treaty of London. From his balcony he corrected his cheering followers' pronunciation from Spaláto to Spálato! The medal's spelling Spalatro is a linguistic error.

Adding to the confusion, the marvelous building shown is now known to be part of the Mausoleum of Diocletian near Split. The exergue proclaims LA DALMATIE CONQUISE EN/ MDCCCVI. PAR LA PAIX/ DE PRESBOURG. Reflective prooflike light red-brown patina, Plain Edge. The creation of the ephemeral Illyrian Province gave impetus to later Slavic nationalists' Illyrian (Yugoslav) Ideal, launched by the Napoleonic intervention.

Napoleon next invaded Naples and effectively deposed its Bourbon ruler, "La dynastie de Naples a cessé de régner... the Dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign" This uncouth King, entitled Ferdinando IV on the mainland and Ferdinando III in Sicily, was under the forceful influence of his Queen Maria Carolina, daughter of the late Austrian Empress Maria Theresa.

The royal family fled to Sicily under the protection of Lord Nelson, whence they defied Napoleon until 1815. On Feb. 5, 1806, Napoleon's brother Joseph was proclaimed King of Naples and Sicily and ruled with some success until replaced by the Emperor's brother-in-law Marshal Joachim Murat as King Gioacchino Napoleone. The [69] Conquest of Naples Medal of 1806 is represented by a Bronze, 40.5mm, by J.P. Droz and Nicolas Brenet, engr. (Bramsen 516).

This obverse shows a laureate head r. with finely beaded border (not shown on Zeitz or CGI illustrations). The reverse is another triumph of ancient numismatic design showing a flying Victory crowning a man-headed bull from the coins of ancient Gela within legend CONQUÊTE DE NAPLES MDCCCVI. A minute head of the god Vulcan appears beneath the bull. This example is glossy brown with Plain Edge.





[67]  
1806 Conquest of Istria



[68]  
1806 Conquest of Dalmatia



[69]  
1806 Conquest of Naples



A romantic note was introduced to the series by the [70] Prince Carl Franz Ludwig of Baden and Stephanie Napoleona Marriage Medal, 1806. Bronze, 41mm, by J.P. Droz and Bertrand Andrieu, engrs., after Lorenzo Bartolini (Bramsen 522). The obverse bears a laureate head r. in beaded border (not shown in Zeitz). On the reverse a radiant N hovers over a young couple arrayed as Rachel & Jacob, names placed vertically of Beauharnais Princess and Grand Ducal Prince of Baden, exergue ALLIANCE/ MDCCCVI. Deep red-brown patina, edgemark Antique Prow CUIVRE.

[71] Grand Sanhedrin Medal, 1806. Bronze, 41mm. By Depaulis and Brenet, with an additional attribution to Dupré which Bramsen dismissed as apocryphe. (Bramsen 527, Essling 1138, CGI 60:D). This obverse is not quite standard, with its uniformed bust r. under a free-floating laurel crown.

Bramsen described the reverse, “Napoleon debout, en grand costume impérial, couronné de laurier, reçoit les tablets de la loi que lui présente un rabbin assis devant lui, sous les traits de Moïse d’après Michel-Ange XXX Mai MDCCCVI.” Napoleon appeared as an ancient god or hero on many medals, but the image of Moses (after Michelangelo) crouching before the Emperor after presenting him with the Tablets was at best of questionable taste and displays startling arrogance.

Bramsen held that this medal was not struck before 1815 and then in England. However, Babelon’s massive *Médailles Historiques du Règne de Napoléon le Grand* devotes pp 289-290 to this subject, illustrating a wholly different reverse with classic legend DOCTRINAE . IVDAICAE . CALVMNIA . SVBLATA., Calumny of Jewish Doctrines Dismissed. (Babelon, CXXV, p.289.) On the preceding page appears the reverse actually employed on Bramsen 527!

This was adapted from a Roman coin of Nerva with its legend Fisci judaici calumnia sublata celebrating removal of a discriminatory tax against Jews in the Roman Empire. The proposed reverse presented an open scroll cabinet flanked by seated lions atop a draped lion-footed table.

The purpose of creating a Grand Sanhedrin was to extend the Emperor’s organization of all aspects of le Grand Empire for better governance and potential mobilization. French Jews had been relieved of all legal disabilities on Sept. 27, 1791, but a large part of the Jewish population resided in areas recently annexed to the Empire.

[72] Napoleon Louis I Roi de Hollande, Presentation of the Sword of the Connétable de France Medal, 1806. Silver, 49.03mm, 4.07mm thick, 62.8 grams. By George, engr. (Bramsen 528, Essling 2422, Forrer II:242-243). Obv Bare head r. of the Emperor’s younger brother Louis, French legend NAP. LOUIS I. ROI DE HOLLANDE CONN. DE FRANCE (Dutch Lodewijk Napoleon), GEORGE F. on truncation.

Rev Arms on grand mantle including the Dutch lion shield on the breast of the Napoleonic eagle. At the mantle’s peak is a detailed French royal crown of the Bourbons with lilies at the arches; crossed behind the shield are the Main de Justice and scepter tipped by a Dutch lion. The new King’s name appears either as Lodewijk Napoleon or Napoleon Lodewijk on his medals and coins.

Behind is an upright Constable’s sword and Collars of Legion d’Honneur and Toison d’or, Golden Fleece at base. The appearance of the Golden Fleece is extraordinary, this august decoration having been bestowed by Austria’s Habsburg Emperor, in whose dominion of Moravia Louis took refuge on fleeing Holland in 1810. The edge of this piece bears the incuse Lampe antique.

This is not the Dutch royal crown seen on Louis’ coins or on the uniface Brass impression of the insignia of a Dutch Courier that was lot 1115 in the Dieter Schwering Collection (Münzen und Medaillen Auktion 24, Oct. 19, 2007). These all bore the quartered Arms with Napoleonic eagle and Dutch lion as seen on Napoleon Lodewijk’s coins.



[70]  
1806 Prince Carl Franz Ludwig of Baden and Stephanie Napoleona Marriage



[71]  
1806 Grand Sanhedrin



[72]  
1806 Napoleon Louis I Roi de Hollande, Presentation of the Sword of the Connétable de France



Heraldry is generally very precise with such fine details, making use of this specific crown arresting. It should be noted that Napoleon made certain that his now-royal brothers displayed French imperial titles along with their new royal ones: Joseph was Grand Elector of the Empire; Gioacchino Napoleon (Murat) was Grand Admiral of France; Jerome always bore the added title French Prince.

The French medalist generally listed as simply "George," went to Utrecht in 1806 to replace the superannuated Johan Georg Holtzhey. Other medals by George include Occupations of Hamburg, 1806; Berlin, Warsaw and Königsberg, 1807, and possibly three of the Bonaparte Dutch royal Orders. A silver example of the Constable Medal was lot 87 in Bank Leu's 22 Oct 74 sale, realizing 2300 SFr.

Napoleon had long insisted that brother Louis had real military ability. By the time of the erection of the Kingdom of Holland, he was a loveless, practicing neurotic, unhappily married to Josephine's vivacious daughter Hortense de Beauharnais. One of their children would later become Emperor Napoleon III.

Louis refused to enforce the Emperor's Continental System barring commerce with England and stood up for his Dutch subjects until Napoleon tired of his defiance and announced his deposition and the annexation of Holland to the French Empire. Louis fled to Austria, taking (as one writer put it) his favorite dog but not his favorite son, and refused to assist his brother even as the Empire crumbled in 1814.

Napoleon had many more important tasks to attend than Louis' intransigence. The re-ordering of Central Europe was among his most far-reaching acts, personified by the [73] Confederation of the Rhine Medal, 1807. Bronze, 41.8mm, by Bertrand Andrieu, Nicolas Brenet, after Benjamin Zix, engr. (Bramsen 534). The obverse bore his laureate head r. Trying to compress an unusually busy subject into a small space, the reverse presented a circle of 14 armored and mailed knights swearing union on central fasces.

The newly elevated Kings of Bavaria & Württemberg are foremost, Murat as Grand Duke of Berg next, Prince Primate Archbishop Carl von Dahlberg at center with his patriarchal cross and broad-brimmed hat. This glossy red-brown example bears a Pointing Hand CUIVRE edgemark.

At one time, the Holy Roman Empire had included more than 300 states great and small under the nominal overlordship of Francis II of the House of Habsburg. The Empire was swept away by the revolutionary wars, followed by wholesale mediatization and combination of many tiny states into larger units.

The aggressively expansionist Kingdom of Prussia, Saxony and the Austrian lands were excluded from the new Rheinbund of which Napoleon was Protector and Dahlberg Prince Primate. Marshal Murat was Duke and later Grand Duke of Berg. Although the confederation did not survive the fall of Napoleon's Grand Empire, it clearly marked the path to German unity that would inevitably follow under Prussian auspices.

Up to this point, Napoleon had not faced the Kingdom of Prussia in the field. This largest German state still preserved the immense prestige won by Frederick the Great before his death in 1786. The misanthropic Frederick had created a virtually unbeatable force for the dynastic wars of the 18th century, but his vastly less capable successors had faced few challenges to what most Europeans still called the "Army of Frederick the Great."

Frederick William III (reigned 1797-1840) had skirted involvement in the fighting that led to the debacle of Austerlitz. Drawn like moths to a flame, however, the Prussians went to war after the creation of the Rheinbund despite lack of a workable war plan, competent leadership or effective allies. Napoleon flattened the divided Prussian forces at Saalfeld on Oct. 10, followed





[73]  
*1807 Confederation of the Rhine*

by the devastating victories at Jena and Auerstädt on Oct. 14. Napoleon lost 3,000 men at Jena; the Prussians lost 25,000.

These twin victories are recalled by [74] Battle of Jena Medals, 1806. The first we will examine is Bronze, 40.5mm, by Bertrand Andrieu and André Galle, engr. after Pierre Nolasque Bergeret. (Bramsen 537). The laureate head obverse is standard, but the reverse approaches deification, posing Napoleon as the Roman god Jupiter mounted on his eagle, hurling lightning at three fallen Giants on the rocks below. The exergue announces BATAILLE D'JENA/ M DCCC VI. Reddish-brown patina, concave Plain Edge.

This Jena Medal (Bramsen 538) has another major distinction: its production was delayed by the Jena Medal of the Commission working on its *Médailles Historiques de Règne de Napoléon le Grand Empereur et Roi*. (Bramsen 537). This was done with the agreement of Denon who was usually suspicious of and uncooperative with that obscure and never-finished medal series. Its reverse design was first published in *Les Médailles Historiques du Règne de Napoléon le Grand Empereur et Roi*, p. 246.

Jena also brought Duke Frederick August of Saxony into alliance with France, an event hailed by the [75] Saxony Liberated at Jena Medal, 1806. Bronze, 41.5mm, by Bertrand Andrieu, Luigi Manfredini, engr. (Bramsen 539, CGI unlisted. not in Zeitz). The distinctive obverse bears a small laureate head wearing the Iron Crown r., Latin NAPOLEO GALL. IMP. ITAL. REX GERM. RVTH. BORVSSICVS, ...Conqueror of Germany, Russia, Prussia., tiny MEDIOLANI/ MDCCCVI below.

On the reverse of this Milan Mint medal, Napoleon appears again as Jupiter seated on eagle holding arrows and staff over IENAE, (locative case, at Jena). Legend SAXONIA LIBERATA BORVSSIS DELETIS, IENAE, Saxony Liberated, Prussians Destroyed at Jena. Illustrated is a Bronze example: 41.5mm, 3.5mm thick, copper-red finish, Edge C-BRONZE, ex Maryland collection, ca. 1885. [second example: Dark Bronze, edge Ancre et C CUIVRE]

Napoleon named a key bridge over the Seine in Paris the Pont d'Iena. During the occupation of Paris in 1814, the Prussian army announced its intention to blow up this bridge, but newly returned King Louis XVIII then countered with his own plan to be wheeled out onto the span before the detonation! The Pont d'Iena still stands today.

Moving swiftly after Jena, the French army rolled up the shattered Prussian forces and entered Berlin on 27 October 1806, and following Napoleon's orders, each French unit saluted a statue of Frederick the Great. [76] Berlin Entry Medal, 1806, Bronze, 40mm, by Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Louis Jaley (rev), engr. (Bramsen 546), included a laureate head r., on this example showing the laurel not fully struck.

The reverse is dominated by a view of the famed Brandenburg Gate, PORTE DE BRANDEBOURG, exergue L'EMPEREUR ENTRE À BERLIN/ LE XXVII OCTOBRE/ MDCCCVI. The goddess of Victory and quadriga were removed from the top of the Gate to the Orangerie of Paris as trophies of war, but were returned to Berlin after Napoleon's downfall. As noted, this medium brown example exhibits an oddly unfinished obverse strike with incomplete detail on the laurels. Plain Edge. Ex Barney Bluestone, Syracuse, NY.

Soon after taking Berlin, the Emperor visited Frederick's tomb at Potsdam and took the King's sword and Order of the Black Eagle as trophies of war. More than a century later, Frederick's coffin would be removed from the same resting place and surrendered to the American high command in occupied Berlin to preserve it from desecration by the rampaging Red Army.





[74]  
1806 Battle of Jena



[75]  
1806 Saxony Liberated at Jena



[76]  
1806 Berlin Entry



After Berlin fell, many seemingly impregnable fortresses fell like nine pins, marked by the [77] Capitulation of 4 Prussian Fortresses Medal, 1806. Bronze, 41.5mm, only 3.1mm thick, by Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy and Alexandre Evariste Fragonard (rev), engrs. (Bramsen 548). Laureate head r. as last, reverse shows four City goddesses in mural crowns, three standing and dropping keys, gazing skyward at a minute sword-wielding Napoleon riding high above on Jupiter's eagle r. The exergue records CAPITULATION DE SPANDAU STETTIN/MAGDEBOURG CUSTRIN/ MDCCCVI. Coin finish, deep red, blue sheen, C-BRONZE, ca. 1885, ex Maryland Collection.

On Nov. 6, 1806, Napoleon issued his Berlin Decree extending his Continental System, barring all commercial intercourse between the areas of mainland Europe under his control and the British. This was to have catastrophic effect of the commerce of Holland and the Hanseatic cities on the German coast, notably Hamburg and proved largely unenforceable.

[78] Alliance with Saxony Medal, 1806. Bronze 40.2mm, 4.5mm thick, by Bertrand Andrieu, after Pierre Nolasque Bergeret, engrs. (Bramsen 551). This obverse presents conjoined busts r. of laureate Napoleon and heavily bearded Charlemagne r. along sharp truncation curve AN M . DCCC . VI , straight-line vertical legends NAPOLEON. EMP. I., CHARLEMAGNE EMP. r. Rev Mailed and crowned VITTIKIND R.S., FREDERIC AUG. R.S. (Roi de Saxe) Deep brown-red patina. PE.

It should be noted that this medal did not claim that Napoleon was descended from Charlemagne, or of the Saxon King from Vittekind, but the design asserted the continuity of these modern monarchs from the medieval rulers.

[79] Occupation of Hamburg Medal, 1806. Bronze, 40.3mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and George, engrs. Bramsen 549. This great Hanseatic trading city was administered by Marshal Davout, a regime recalled by a reduced size 32 Schilling Courant silver coin.



[77]  
*1806 Capitulation of 5 Prussian Fortresses*



[78]  
*1806 Alliance with Saxony*



[79]  
*1806 Occupation of Hamburg*

The continuing movement of the French forces eastward is recalled by the [80] French Eagles beyond the Vistula Medal, 1807. Bronze, 41mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Nicolas Brenet, after Chaudet, engr. (Bramsen 620). Obv laureate head r., Latin title

NEAPOLIO IMPERATOR ET REX. Rev Reclining river nymph in sorrowful attitude with Quellurne and ancient rudder symbolic of the river, French eagle standard at center. This Latin inscription can be attributed to the influence of Quatremère de Quincy of the Commission of the Institute, SIGNIS ULTRA VISTULAM CONSTITUTIS MDCCCVII in exergue, edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.

The lack of secure tenure for existing thrones was dramatized by the next issue, the [81] Granting of Sovereignities (Souverainetés donnés) Medal, 1806, Bronze, 40.5mm by J.P. Droz, Nicolas Brenet and Bertrand Andrieu, after Benjamin Zix, engr. (Bramsen 553).

This obverse presents a laureate head r., rim with finely beaded border. The busy reverse shows the Napoleonic eagle hovering above a throne and salutation table bearing 14 crowns and 4 scepters. Fallen to the floor are discarded crowns of Hannover, Sardinia and the Cornu dogale of the deposed Doges of Venice.

The throne's uprights are bedecked with imperial bees, and a carelessly cast down mantle and scepter. Among the precious objects displayed on the table are four scepters and the crowns of grand ducal Tuscany, royal Bavaria and Württemberg, Naples and many more. In exergue is the forthright statement SOUVERAINÉTÉS DONNÉS/ MDCCCVI. Sovereignities Granted, an incredibly forthright expression of arrogant and unapologetic power. This PE example displays light glossy brown with reflective fields.

The Emperor's drastic restructuring of the German states into the Rheinbund by the Peace of Pressburg was marked by the [82] Prince Primate Frankfurt Proclamation Medal of 1807, White Metal, 41.4mm. (Bramsen 621). Its obverse presents the bust l. in episcopal garb of CARL V.G.G. F.P. D.R.B. E.Z.R.S.F.Z.A. R.F. A.R.F.W. &., Carl by the Grace of God Prince Primate of the Rhine Confederation (Fürst Primas des Rheinbundes), Archbishop of Regensburg, Frankfurt, Aschaffenburg, Wetzlar, etc.

The new dignitary's full name was Baron Carl Theodor Anton Maria von Dahlberg (born 1744, died 1817). The reverse offers an old-style city view with laudatory legend KAM ZUM GLUECK UND FLOR DER BUEGER, He Came for the Fortune and Prosperity of the Citizens. Exergue, GEHULDIGET/ IN FRANCKFURT/ D. 1 IAN. 1807, Received Homage in Frankfurt 1 Jan. 1807.

Napoleon swept away most coin-issuing ecclesiastical states: Bishoprics, Archbishoprics and monasteries that had exercised the coinage right for centuries. Carl von Dahlberg was, in effect, the last such coin issuer in that category, and was later able to survive the downfall of his imperial patron and the Rheinbund itself while retaining his ecclesiastical dignity as Archbishop of Regensburg.





[80]  
1807 French Eagles beyond the Vistula



[81]  
1806 Granting of Sovereignities (Souverainetés donnés)



[82]  
1807 Prince Primate Frankfurt Proclamation

Important eastward movements were the [83] Battle of Preussische-Eylau Medal, 1807. Bronze, 40.3mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Nicolas Brenet, engr. Bramsen 1807 and the [84] Danzig Liberation Medal, 1807. Bronze, 40.3mm. By Bertrand Andrieu after Charles Meynier, engr. Bramsen 652)

An interesting interruption in design and style is the [85] Napoleon at Osterode Medal, 1807. Bronze, 40.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, Nicolas Brenet, engr. (Bramsen 631, Essling 1164). The obverse bears a laureate head r. with unusual legend *NAPOLEON A OSTERODE*, his army's layover base in East Prussia, This example displays a massive rim cud 5:30 to 6:00 connecting bust point to rim.

This reverse bears the undraped, rugged head of a Roman General of the Second Punic War, 275-203 BC), *FABIUS CUNCTATOR*, *DENON DIRT*. Severe French losses at Preussische-Eylau necessitated a lengthy layover to rest and reinforce Napoleon's army before resuming the offensive. Fabius the Delayer was chosen to symbolize Napoleon's elaborate indifference to British feints near the Netherlands; showing no panic reaction, the Emperor remained seemingly unconcerned in East Prussia. Deep red-brown, PE.





[83]  
*1807 Battle of Preussische-Eylau*



[84]  
*1807 Danzig Liberation*



[85]  
*1807 Napoleon at Osterode*



A major Napoleonic defeat of the Russians was hailed by the [86] Battle of Friedland Medal, 1807. Bronze, 40.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu (obv), André Galle (rev), engr, with input from Chaudet. (Bramsen 632). The obverse bears a laureate head r. The reverse shows a virtually nude Greek hero identified as Napoleon by Bramsen, by Zeitz as war god Mars, standing on a corpse-strewn battlefield sheathing his sword, recalling the 10,000 French and 20,000 Russian casualties

The exergue presents the battle's name and date. Flanking the central figure are emblems of war and defeat: reversed torch at l.; olive tree at r. This Plain Edge medal's splendid reddish-brown surfaces show the faintest hint of blue sheen.

Another omnium gatherum design adorns the [87] Campaigns of 1806 and 1807 (Occupation of Three Capital Cities) Medal, Bronze 41.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and George, engr. (Bramsen 634). Obv Laureate head l. Rev City Goddesses BERLIN, VARSOVIE, KOENIGSBERG. Based on a Roman marble relief, work of Dutch artist who created coinage of Lodewijk Napoleon. Edge C-BRONZE. Coin finish, deep jewel-red surfaces show hints of emerald, ex Maryland collection.

[88] Conquest of Silesia Medal, 1807. Copper bronzed, 41mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, after Charles Meynier, engr. (Bramsen 635). Obv Laureate head r. Rev Victory stands over seated History inscribing oval shield, ouroboros (snake with its tail in its mouth) on bench symbolizing eternity. An obelisk at left is composed of seven mural crowns bearing fortress names GLATZ/ KOSEL/ NEISSE/ SCHWEINNITZ/ BRIEG/ Breslaw/ Glogaw, at her feet lies Silberberg. PE, reflective brown surfaces.



[86]  
1807 Battle of Friedland



[87]  
Campaigns on 1806 and 1807 (Occupation of Three Capital Cities)



[88]  
1807 Conquest of Silesia

[89] Napoleon Dresden Visit Medal, 1807. White Metal, 41.2mm. By Karl Wilhelm Hoeckner; engr. (Bramsen 654). Obv Uniformed Napoleon bust r., NAPOLEO IMP. GALL. IT. REX HOSPES DRESDAE. D. XVII. IVL. MDCCVII. Rev Uniformed bust l. in peruke, FRID. AVGVST. REX SAXONIAE VARSOVIAE DVX. Some luster, dark on King's jaw.

This determined Saxon King proved to be Napoleon's only reliable German ally. Narrowly surviving the catastrophic events of 1815, he fended off total annexation by Prussia and eventually returned to his truncated realm, appearing on Saxon coinage until 1827 as "the last peruke."

What may have been the high tide of Napoleonic success was marked by the [90] Peace of Tilsit Medal, 1807. Bronze, 41.5mm, 3mm thick. By Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Jean-Pierre Droz (rev), after Charles Meynier; engr. (Bramsen 640). The obverse bears jugate heads r., with names NAPOLEON – ALEXANDRE I. – F. GUILLAUME III, forming a square.

This obverse, as Zeitz observes räumt dem Preussenkönig einen Platz ein, den er in Wirklichkeit bei den Verhandlungen nicht gehabt hat, "gives the Prussian King a place that he did not actually have in the negotiations."

The reverse shows a huge reclining river god holding a model of the historic pavilion floated at midstream of the Niemen (Nemunas) river, where Napoleon and Alexander conferred in mutual fascination while the sullen, humiliated Frederick William had to be content with watching from the shore. Exergue PAIX DE TILSIT/ M.DCCC.VII. Edge C-Bronze, deeply glowing red-gold patina and coin finish, Maryland Collection ca. 1885.

[91] Duchy of Warsaw Medal, 1807. Bronze, 40.2mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, Nicolas Brenet after Jean-Baptist Lepère; engr. (Bramsen 653). Rev Gothic throne holds Polish royal crown, sword and scepter flanking, PRISCA DECORA RESTITUTA, OTHO III. BOLESLO. A MI/ NEAPOLIO. FRIDERICO AUG./ A. MDCCCVII. Ancient luster restored, Otto III to Boleslav, Napoleon to Fredrick August.

Napoleon's ongoing flirtation with the possible restoration of Poland kept Prussia, Austria and Russia off balance. All opposed any return of the ancient kingdom, whose territory all three had seized in the three Partitions. Napoleon created a Duchy of Warsaw under his ally the King of Saxony, whose dynasty had supplied two elective Kings of Poland. This new creation is generally listed as a Grand Duchy, though all of its coins are exergue inscribed simply Duchy.

Another major step in Napoleon's restructuring of western Germany was the creation of the new Kingdom of Westphalia to be ruled by his youngest brother Jerome, German Hieronymus. This impulsive youngster had first married the beautiful Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore, Maryland. In fury, Napoleon had announced cancellation of this perfectly valid marriage, and dictated his brother's second marriage to Princess Catherine of Württemberg.

Westphalia's Coat of Arms gave an idea of its complex origin: its 12 heraldic charges included six lions along with the White Horse of Hannover (the Westfälische Ross). At center appears a small escutcheon de pretense bearing the Napoleonic eagle.

The several heraldic charges recalled the former Electorate of Hannover, ancestral home of Britain's ruling royal house, along with fragments of Hessen, Nassau and several smaller states. Napoleon took apparent delight in telling his brother, now styled Hieronymus Napoleon König von Westphalen, that his new Arms were more suggestive of a menagerie than a kingdom.

Jerome and bride Catherine of Württemberg set new family records for extravagance, spending most of the money that could be raised on palaces, jewels and finery. The new King was sent to the campaign against Prussia but successfully avoided the battlefield. When thousands of his new Westphalian soldiers were dragooned for the Russian campaign, Jerome jilted them and returned to his capital. After Napoleon's downfall, Jerome took refuge with his father-in-law King Frederick, once Duke-Elector, elevated to King during Napoleon's restructuring of the German States.





[89]  
1807 Napoleon Dresden Visit



[90]  
1807 Peace of Tilsit



[91]  
1807 Duchy of Warsaw

Marking Jerome's elevation was the [92] Kingdom of Westphalia Creation Medal of 1807, designed by Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Nicolas Brenet and Benjamin Zix (rev). (Bramsen 660). The obverse bears a laureate head r. NAPOLEON – EMP. ET ROI. The reverse was based on a famous ancient sculpture of young Alexander the Great securing his steed Bucephalus.

Substituting for Alexander, a youthful nude Napoleon subdues the White Horse of Hannover (Westfälische Ross), INJECT TANDEM FRENA VAGANTI, He halts it in its Wayward Course (Horace). In exergue ERECTION DU ROYAUME/ DE WESTPHALIE/ MDCCCVII. This example displays vibrant mint red and pale blue of the Maryland Collection example, edge C-BRONZE, ca. 1885.

The year 1807 would be recalled as close to the high tide of Napoleonic triumphs. Marking it was the [93] Victories of 1807 Medal, Bronze, 41mm. By Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Louis Jaley (rev), engrs. (Bramsen 674). The now-standard obverse bore a laureate Napoleon head r., ANDRIEU F. raised on truncation.

The reverse presents the imperial eagle standing on Jupiter's fulmen or Cigarre above N in starburst flanked by unusually minute signatures DENON/ DT., and JALEY . FT/ 1807. Above a tiny hovering winged Victory crowns the eagle. The red-gold patina of late 20th century gleams under lacquer applied by a machine of the type designed for surfacing license plates in the Ohio State Prison! Incuse C-Bronze.

The imperial eagle shown here was adapted from a large Bronze coin of Egypt's Ptolemy II (271-246 BC). It has a squared head with the suggestion of a crest extending l. The eagle of the Second Empire and its coinage would display a more naturalistic rounded head. The Napoleonic eagle was not properly depicted wearing a crown, unlike the majestic birds that were the principal charges of the Arms of Austria, Prussia and Russia.

[94] Reunion of Etruria & France Medal, 1808. Bronze, 41.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, Nicolas Brenet, after Louis Lafitte engrs. (Bramsen 721). Obv Laureate head r. Rev Napoleon in the elaborate armor and harness of a Roman Emperor takes goddess of Etruria (Tuscany) under his protection with her symbols of music and the arts. Exergue REUNION DE L'ETRURIE/ A LA FRANCE/ MDCCCVIII. Reverse shows a slanting die crack at 10:00, original die. Mint red coin finish, Edge C-Bronze, ca 1885.

Tuscany was shuffled back and forth after 1801, forming a kingdom under "a penniless Bourbon," Spanish Infante Luis (Ludovico) and after his death in 1803 under his minor son Carlo Ludovico with Regent Infanta Maria Luisa. Later the area was added to the rule of Napoleon's sister Princess Elisa of Lucca and Piombino.

The French use of the term "Reunion" for territories it conquered or annexed goes back at least to the 17th century and the "creeping annexations" near the Rhine under Louis XIV. The word suggested return of once legitimately owned territory rather than simple conquest.

Napoleon's intervention in Spain was supposed to be another walk-over in which the Spanish Bourbons would "cease to reign." The Emperor's knowledge of facts on the ground proved dangerously inadequate and France became embroiled in a disastrous family dispute that grew into a bloody distraction from the chain of victories elsewhere in Europe.

The Emperor's dethronement of the slow-witted King Charles IV and his unappealing Queen and her low-born lover Manuel Godoy, "Prince of the Peace" created a thoroughly confused family situation. Their son claimed the succession as King Ferdinand VII, hailed as "Fernando el deseado, the Desired" by his adherents in wars fought not only in the peninsula but in the Spanish provinces in America.

This became a peculiarly bloodthirsty war notable for its atrocities, many of which were recorded in Goya's paintings. It also saw decisive British intervention on the ground and brought





[92]  
*1807 Kingdom of Westphalia Creation*



[93]  
*Victories of 1807*



[94]  
*1808 Reunion of Etruria & France*



fame to Sir John Moore (born 1761, died 1809) and Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (born 1769, died 1852). Their victories in Spain were commemorated by some 14 pieces in British medal issuer James Mudie's Grand Series of National Medals, while the Napoleonic series contains but two... Few medals commemorate defeats!

The first French medal marked the [95] 1808 Battle of Sommo Sierra. Bronze, 41mm. By Jean Pierre Droz, and Romain Vincent Jeuffroy after Alexandre Evariste Fragonard, engr. (Bramsen 756). This obverse bore a typical laureate head r., while the reverse shows Napoleon as an ancient hero in biga overthrowing a torch-wielding hag. Exergue BATAILLE DE SOMMO SIERRA/ L'INQUISITION DETRUITE/ MDCCCVIII.

The mention of the Inquisition has attracted remarkably little attention from catalogers. This was a tribunal of the Spanish state, not under the control of the Church, that policed uniformity of faith throughout the Spanish world with varying rigor since 1481. Its existence provided centuries of ammunition for sectarian battling in the religious struggles since that time.

The second and last French commemoration was the [96] Entry into Madrid Medal, 1808. By Bertrand Andrieu and Nicolas Brenet after Jean-Baptiste Lepère. (Bramsen 757). The obverse, as the preceding bore a laureate head r. The reverse presents a front elevation of the PORTE DE ALCALA, exergue ENTRÉE DES FRANÇAIS A MADRID/ LE IV DECEMBRE/ MDCCCVIII.

French cavalry overran western Madrid after the battle of Teudela and capture of the mountain passes. The Junta attempting to govern Spain in the absence of King Charles and his son Prince Ferdinand soon hoisted the white flag, but the armed Madrileños continued the struggle.

Director Denon came to Spain and was fascinated by the Alcala Gate, designed by Italian architect Francesco Sabatini for the able King Charles III in 1764-1778. It was deemed an ideal medallion "signature" for the capture of Madrid.

As noted above, Napoleon had proclaimed the dethronement of the House of Bourbon-Two Sicilies in 1806 and presented the Neapolitan throne to his older brother Joseph (born 1768, died 1844). After two years of attempting to order his new realm, which never actually included the island of Sicily, the easy-going Joseph was transferred to Spain. The throne of Naples was then bestowed on Marshal Joachim Murat, most recently Duke and Grand Duke of Berg, who now became Gioacchino Napoleone King of the Two Sicilies.

Many historians see in the ill-conceived Spanish adventure the beginning of the end of the Napoleonic saga. The hapless Joseph, now Don José, King of the Spains and the Indies, never secured most of his peninsular realm and was unable to establish even a foothold in the Western Hemisphere.

There are few available medals of Don José. The [97] José Napoleon Orbe Meo Medal of 1808 is a 44.5mm Bronze by F. Daniel, engr. (Bramsen 722). Its obverse bears a bare bust l. in the style of the Spanish 20 Reales de Vellon with Latin titles IOS. NAPOLEO. HISPANIAR. ET INDIAR. REX CATHOL., MDCCCVIII. Note the correct plural form: of the Spains, recalling the historical kingdoms united under Ferdinand and Isabel. The reverse presents a radiant sun rising over the sea and twin rocks with legend ORBE MEO, below, F. DANIEL GRATI ANIMI CAVSA.

This specimen's incredibly crude quadruple strike resulted in multiple profiles, a rough rim, and porous surfaces. The overall crudity almost certainly identifies this medal as a Naples Mint strike, as similar imperfections are also seen on later medals of the restored Bourbons.

Bramsen testified to this medal's Neapolitan origin, "F. DANIEL était président de l'Académie des sciences à Naples à l'heure (6 Juin 1808) où Joseph Napoléon quitta le trône de Naples pour celui d'Espagne." A Silver example appeared in the Bank Leu Auktion 11, 22 Oct. 1964, lot 28, realizing 2,300 SFr.



[95]  
1808 Battle of Sommo Sierra



[96]  
1808 Entry into Madrid



[97]  
1808 José Napoleon Orbe Meo

One of the most unusual modern Napoleonic-theme medals appeared in 1968 as part of the series Monetary Portraits of the Kings of Spain, created by numismatists Xavier and Ferrán Calicó of Barcelona. Each medal bore a portrait adapted from historical coins or patterns issued since the Reyes Católicos Ferdinand and Isabel down through Alfonso XIII, including Pretendientes y Usurpadores.

Among these 50mm Bronze goldplate pieces is the [98] José Napoleón Medal, 1968. It presents a bust l. in bandeau from the gold 360 Reales, IOSEPH. NAP. D.G. HISP. ET IND. R. 1808-1814. The reverse presents an eagle-topped scepter with breaking shaft within legend OCASO NAPOLEONICO, Napoleonic Eclipse. This was the Calicós only medal of any Spanish Usurpador and one of the few ever issued anywhere recalling Napoleon's brother.

A head of Joseph's successor in Naples appeared on the [99] Gioacchino Napoleone Honor for Merit Medal, ca. 1809, Bronze, 34mm. (Bramsen 896). This obverse bears a tousle-haired head l. with Italian legend GIOACCHINO – NAPOLEONE. On the reverse laurel encloses ONORE/AL/ MERITO. Richly glossy brown with edge bearing incuse COPIE. No Merit Medal of Honor of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies was listed in Harold Gillingham's series of definitive American Numismatic Society monographs. "Copie" by whom?

A far more finished medallic production is the [100] Joachim Napoleon Rome Academy of Fine Arts Visit Medal, 1809. Bronze, 41.2mm. By Nicolas-Pierre Tiolier, engr. (Bramsen 881). Obverse depicts the façade of Villa Médicis that housed the Imperial Academy, exergue shows the Wolf of Rome suckling Romulus and Remus, exergue G.G. LETHIERE/ DIRECTEUR, Wolf of Rome, N.P. TIOLIER/ F. 1808.

The reverse includes a circle wreath surrounding a seven-line inscription naming Marshal Joachim Murat once Grand Duke of Berg, now King of the Two Sicilies visit of 16 Sept. 1809. Light brown patina, Plain Edge, one segment line. One might be excused for wondering what interest Murat might possibly have had in the arts, but the Academy was a key component in Napoleon's extended vision of Rome's role in his Empire's future.





[98]  
1968 José Napoleón Medal



[99]  
ca. 1809 Gioacchino Napoleone Honor for Merit



[100]  
1809 Joachim Napoleon Rome Academy of Fine Arts Visit

This obverse had appeared earlier on the [101] French Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at Rome Medal, 1808. Bronze, 41.5mm. By Nicolas-Pierre Tiolier, engr. (Bramsen 808, CGI unlisted). That medal's obverse bore a distinctive laureate Napoleon head r. under Etoile, Foudre at r. This example displays a deep copper-red Maryland Collection coin finish, ca. 1885, Edge C-BRONZE.

Napoleon always directed his medallic spotlight on enemies he blamed for renewing war. Ancient symbols abound on the [102] Treaty of Pressburg Violated by Austria, Battles of Abensburg & Eckmühl Medal, 1809, by Nicolas Brenet (obv), Bertrand Andrieu (rev). (Bramsen 844, Julius 2075 var., Essling 1231 var.) Struck in Plain Edge Silver, 40.6mm, 4.4mm thick, 45.7 g; [103] Bronze 41.5mm, 3.5mm thick, edge C-BRONZE.

The obverse features a standing Napoleon in the armor of a Roman general with arms outstretched to elaborate trophies of Austrian arms, helmets, flags, drums and armor, with exergue inscribed in minute lettering, BATAILLES DES XX ET XXII. AVRIL/ MDCCCIX/ XL. M. PRISONNIERS, 40,000 prisoners.





[101]  
1808 French Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at Rome



[102]  
1809 Treaty of Pressburg Violated by Austria, Battles of Abensburg & Eckmühl (silver)



[103]  
1809 Treaty of Pressburg Violated by Austria, Battles of Abensburg & Eckmühl (bronze)



The reverse is a modification of the original [104] *Traité de Presbourg Medal* (Bramsen 455) described above. Rich in ancient symbolism, the new medal exhibits the *TEMPLVM JANI*, now with shattered door above *TRAITÉ DE PRESBOURG/ ROMPU PAR L'AUTRICHE/ IX AVRIL MDCCCIX*.

In 1805 the Temple with closed doors signified cessation of war, violently reopened doors now signalize war's return. This Silver medal is delightfully thick, showing the lightest blue toning, with "swaybacked" Plain Edge, contrasting with the much thinner modern Bronze strike.

The French commander, the able and tireless Marshal Louis Nicolas Davout (born 1770, died 1823) went from Duke of Auerstädt, to Prince of Eckmühl in the wake of these victories.

There soon followed the [105] *Vienna Entry Medal*, 1809. Silver, 41.3mm, 3.4mm thick, 36.4 g. By Bertrand Andrieu, after Benjamin Zix, engr. (Bramsen 847). The obverse presents Paris' *Porte St. Martin*, designed by Pierre Bullet for King Louis XV, through which the Emperor departed on 13 April 1809. The reverse depicts Vienna's *Carinthia Gate*, through which he entered the Austrian capital on May 13 after strenuous marches. This example bears a modern sandblast patina and edge C-ARGENT.

[106] *Battle of Essling and Crossing the Danube Medal*, 1809. Bronze, 40.3mm. By Nicolas Brenet after Alexandre Evariste Fragonard, engr. Obv Vengeful Danube river god destroys wooden bridge, French eagle standards on either bank, cannon stranded on pontoon l. *DANVVIVS PONTEM INDIGNATVS*.

Napoleon insisted that the difficulties experienced at Essling were the result of natural causes, specifically a rampaging river. The reverse strikes a more triumphant note with its detailed view of the successful French crossing on a second, hastily assembled bridge, *ITERVM IBIDEM*, Again in the Same Place.

For military historians the reverse is a real treasure, presenting minutely detailed uniformed figures under a flying goddess of Victory. In the lead are two muscular bearded Pioneers in tall bearskins carrying woodsmen's axes, whose monumental efforts created the replacement bridge. Following are two rows of infantry in tall shakos on their heads, the first two bearing eagle standards. Crowding in at right are two rows of cavalry in ornate horsehair-crested helmets, eager for battle.



[104]  
*Traité de Presbourg*



[105]  
*1809 Vienna Entry*



[106]  
*1809 Battle of Essling and Crossing the Danube*

[107] Eagles beyond the Raab Medal, 1809. Bronze, 40.8mm, 4.3mm thick. By Bertrand Andrieu, Eugene Dubois after Alexandre Evariste Fragonard, engr. Bramsen 856 variety, listed as uniface, sans revers, CGI 70:D without figures in the field above the god). Obv Laureate head r. with unusual Latin legend NEAPOLIO IMPERATOR REX. (Zeititz shows usual French NAPOLEON – EMP. ET ROI.) This reverse is dominated by a river god reclining with elbow on a cask from which emerges a minuscule togate figure suggesting Emperor Francis, which Bramsen described as fleeing toward the mountains.

At left two tiny female figures stand with pagan standard, PANNONIAE, with a French eagle standard at center, SIGNIS TRANS ARABONAM CONSTITUTIS, exergue ARABONA ADFLEXUM CAPTA M.DCCC.IX. Dark glossy red-brown patina, edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.

The initial success of the renewed war was commemorated by the [108] Campaign of 1809 and Battle of Wagram Medal, 1809. Bronze, 42.5mm. By Luigi Manfredini, engr. (Bramsen 862, Forrer III:554). This Italianate obverse presents Napoleon's head r. wearing the Iron Crown of Lombardy, NAPOLEO MAGNVS GAL. IMP. IT. REX P.F. AVG. INVICTVS. Rev Winged Victory wields fulmen, palm, HOSTIBVS VBIQVW FVSIS CAESIS CAPTIS, The Enemy Everywhere Defeated, Fallen or Captured, MDCCCIX. Work of the Milan Mint, this example showing an edge bump, glossy brow. PE.

[109] Schönbrunn Sojourn - English Attack on Antwerp Medal, 1809. Bronze, 41.4mm. By Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Alexis Depaulis (rev), with input of Louis Lafitte, engr. (Bramsen 870). Obv Seated muscular and implacable JUPITER STATOR, exergue NAPOLEON A SCHOENBRUNN/ MDCCCIX. Rev City goddess on galley, foot on wolf's head prow, Antwerp Arms, Hand on castle in upper field, two dies not in CGI. Brown-gold. C-BRONZE.





[107]  
1809 Eagles beyond the Raab



[108]  
1809 Campaign of 1809 and Battle of Wagram



[109]  
1809 Schönbrunn Sojourn - English Attack on Antwerp

[110] Reunion of the Roman States with France Medal, 1809. Bronze 40.4mm. By Bertrand Andrieu with input from Louis Lafitte. Bramsen 848. Obverse, laureate head r. Reverse shows Tiber river god reclining, holding cornucopia and ancient rudder, gazing upward toward Temple of Jupiter on hill, Wolf of Rome with single infant (Romulus or Remus) at far left. Exergue AQVILA REDUX/ MCCCIX, Return of the Imperial Eagle.

[111] Rome Declared Second Capital Medal, 1809. Bronze, 40.2mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Alexis Joseph Depaulis with input of Louis Lafitte, engr. Bramsen 849. City goddess of Rome wears an ancient helmet with crest bearing the Wolf and (again) a single twin. Goddess of Paris wears a fanciful helmet adorned with an ancient galley from the city Arms.

Napoleon's relations with the Papacy were always stormy, beginning with the French invasion of the Papal States in 1796 and the seizure of Pope Pius VI and his forcible removal to confinement at Valence, where he died in August 1799. His successor was Barnaba Niccolò Chiaramonti (born 1742, died 1823), elected at a hastily called conclave at Venice and taking the name Pius VII. He fended off Napoleon with some skill, striving always to preserve as much of the church's independence as circumstances would allow.

Pius VII later showed no animosity to the defeated Emperor and sheltered his mother and other family members at the restored Papal court in 1814. Napoleon wrote of him warmly on Saint Helena and the Pope played a positive role in the Congress of Vienna. He appointed the great sculptor Antonio Canova to head up the recovery of plundered art works held in Paris, causing Tallyrand to refer to Canova as "His Holiness' shipping clerk."

All that still lay in the future as continuing conquests were hailed by the [112] Conquest of Illyria Medal, 1809. Silver, 41.3mm, 3.1mm thick, 33.8 grams. By Bertrand Andrieu and Alexis Depaulis, engr. (Bramsen 879, Julius 2151 var., Essling 1349 var.) Obv. Laureate head r. Rev Hercules' club above cow suckling its calf from the coinage of ancient Karystos, exergue inscribed CONQUÊTE D'ILLYRIE/ M.DCCCIX.

This design was severely criticized to Denon by Intendant Count Pierre Daru, quoted in Zeitz, "Es est eine Kuh. Ich gestehe Ihnen, dass ich daran wenig Noblesse finden kann... (It is a cow. I must say that I can find in it little nobility!)" Denon defended the design by linking it to ancient Illyrian coinage. Edge C-ARGENT. Dark edge patina.





[110]  
1809 Reunion of the Roman States with France



[111]  
1809 Rome Declared Second Capital



[112]  
1809 Conquest of Illyria



[113] Battle of Wagram Medal, 1809. Bronze, 40.2mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and André Galle, engr. Bramsen 860. Obv Laureate head r. Rev Hercules in lion skin stands with foot on fallen enemy, winged Victory with victor's palm hovers at right. Exergue BATAILLE DE WAGRAM/ VI JUILLET MDCCCIX.

This hard-fought battle saw inspired leadership of Marshals Davout and Masséna on the banks of the Danube. The ultimate victory brought Marshal Berthier, Prince of Neuchâtel the additional title of Prince of Wagram. This battle was no walk-over. At a court function in Paris soon after, Napoleon pointedly corrected a courtier who spoke disparagingly of Austrian military prowess, "It is evident that you were not present at Wagram!"

The resulting Peace wrought terrible damage on defeated Austria. Much of her western territory went to Bavaria, Galicia was divided between Saxony and Russia, Fiume, Trieste and the Adriatic coast as far as Bosnia were taken by France to extend her Illyrian Provinces.

The treaty was marked by the [114] Peace of Vienna Medal, 1809. Bronze, 41.4mm, 3.5mm thick. By Bertrand Andrieu, with Louis Lafitte, engr. Bramsen 876. This design launched another controversy between Daru and the indestructible Denon. The obverse was the standard laureate head r. On the classically inspired reverse, a nude Napoleon appears as an ancient hero, placing an olive branch on a votive altar with his left hand.

His right holds a flaming torch to a disorderly heap of discarded weapons including a mortar, cannon carriage, sword, saber and cannon balls. Count Daru pointed out peevishly that since none of this metal was combustible, the ceremonial torching was a meaningless act. Denon fell back on the flammability of the wood of the gun carriages to carry his design to conclusion. The exergue is inscribed PAIX DE VIENNE/ M DCCC IX. This specimen displays a brown-gold patina, edge C-BRONZE. *Ex Shepard Pond Coll. Edward Gans, June 1, 1948.*

During this high point of the Napoleonic empire, visits to the Monnaie des Médailles of sovereigns allied to France were marked by medals, including the [115] King and Queen of Bavaria Medal Mint Visit, 1810. Bronze, 41.5mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Bramsen 939, CGI 73H. The anepigraphic obverse presents jugate busts r. Maximilian Joseph & Queen Caroline, born Princess of Baden.

The reverse bears a seven-line inscription, L.L.MM./ LE ROI ET LA REINE/ DE BAVIERE/ VISITENT LA MONNAIE/ DES MÉDAILLES/ EN FEVRIER/ MDCCCX. This example shows a bold vertical die crack at 6:00 through first C on the date and a general die bulge gives the field an interesting dimensionality. Edge: C-Bronze, blazing mint red coin finish on obverse, fascinating hints of clear emerald and lapis lazuli reverse. *Ex Maryland collection.*



[113]  
1809 Battle of Wagram



[114]  
1809 Peace of Vienna



[115]  
1810 King and Queen of Bavaria Medal Mint Visit

Another significant medal was that of [116] Prince Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Würzburg, who visited the Medal Mint in June 1810. Bronze, 34mm. By Nicolas Brenet, engr, Bramsen 968, CGI unlisted. The obverse bore the bust r. of this durable brother of Emperor Francis. Ferdinand began as Grand Duke of Tuscany, serving for a brief time as Elector of Salzburg, later Elector of Würzburg and member of the Confederation of the Rhein.

After the smoke cleared in 1814-1815, this Habsburg scion would return to his original post as Grand Duke of Tuscany where he died in 1824. All that lay unguessed in the future as this medal's 7-line French inscription recorded S.A.I./ LE PRINCE FERDINAND/ GRAND DUC DE WURTZBOURG/ VISITE LA MONNAIE/ DES MÉDAILES/ EN JUIN/ MDCCCX. Edge C-Bronze, blazing mint red Coin finish, ex Maryland Collection.







[116]  
*1810 Prince Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Würzburg*

# IMPERIAL MARRIAGE MEDALS

Another achievement of the latest treaty with Austria was the arranged marriage of Napoleon with Emperor Francis' 18-year-old daughter Archduchess Marie Louise. Increasingly concerned about his lack of a son and heir, Napoleon had at last resolved to end his marriage to the childless Empress Josephine. Approaches to Emperor Alexander of Russia foundered thanks in part to Napoleon's seizure of the Duchy of Oldenburg in 1810.

Such political marriages were a well-established tradition for the House of Habsburg, despite the bride's serious reservations about her husband-to-be. She had been brought up to consider him an evil atheist and even the anti-Christ, but in the event she did as she was told by her august father.

The Vienna Mint created medals for the celebration, the first we will consider by Johann Harnisch and Franz Zeichner, [117, 117a] Napoleon & Marie Louise Vienna Marriage Medal, 1810. Bronze, 49mm. Bramsen 942. Obverses present bride and groom vis a vis, legend *NAPOLEON GALL. IMP. ITALIAE REX. M. LVDOVICA FRANC. AVST. IMP. FIL. A.A. Napoleon Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Marie Louise (Maria Ludovica) Daughter of Francis Emperor of Austria, Archduchess of Austria.*

The reverses present a seated Vienna City Goddess inscribing an oval shield held by a cupid *VOTA PVBLICA* flanked by between torches and a vase with roses and pomegranate, in exergue is the place and date *VINDOB. XI. MARTII/ MDCCX*. Reddish-gold reflective patina, edge C-BRONZE. Illustrated for contrast is a modern Vienna Mint strike with red-tan patina and edge bearing an incuse 942.

A smaller Paris Mint piece is the [118] Imperial Couples - Vienna Wedding Medal, 1810. Bronze, 33.9mm. By Franz Stuckart, engr. Bramsen 944. This obverse presents jugate busts facing, at left *FRANCISCVS I \* M:LVDOVICA*, right, *NAPOLEON I/ M:LVDOV* above with die rust joining tops of heads to the rim at r. Reverse shows a seated muse holding twin cornucopiae, below a scroll inscribed *CONCORDIA*. Olive-tan patina, Edge C-BRONZE.



[117]  
1810 Napoleon & Marie Louise Vienna Marriage



[117a]  
1810 Napoleon & Marie Louise Vienna Marriage



[118]  
1810 Imperial Couples - Vienna Wedding



Another Paris Mint strike from Austrian design is the [119] Napoleon & Marie Louise Austrian Wedding Medal, 1810. Bronze, 47.2mm. By A. Guillemard, engr. Bramsen 945. This obverse presents facing pairs of busts (*en regard*) in ancient attire, *NAPOLEON I GALLORVM IMP. ITAL REX ET M. LVDOVICA ARCHI. AUSTRIÆ*

On the reverse Hymen places a crown of roses on the archducal crown atop Austrian red-white-red Bindenschild on pillar whose base is inscribed *XI. MARTII./ MDCCCX*. In exergue is a minute script signature, *A. Guillemard f.* Jewel-neon red-brown-emerald surfaces identify a Maryland Collection strike, edge C-BRONZE.

In a wholly different style is the [120] Entry of Empress in France Medal, 1810. Silver, 32.5mm. 1.6mm thick, 11.8 g. By Courtat, engr. Bramsen 950. Appearing on the obverse is the façade of the single-spire Strasbourg Cathedral, *ENTRÉE DE L'IMPERATRICE IN FRANCE*, exergue *STRASBOURG 22 MARS/ 1810*. Rev Olive and laurel wreath encloses *NAPOLEON/MARIE-LOUISE*. Coin finish, irregularly toned. PE.

From the Milan Mint came the [121] Napoleon and Marie Louise Italian Wedding Medal, 1810. Bronze, 43mm, by Luigi Manfredini, engr. Bramsen 961. The obverse presents jugate heads r. of the Emperor wearing the Iron Crown, bride in diadem, *NAPOLEO M. I. ET R. AUG. MARIA ALOUSIA I. ET R. AUG.* Die cracks appear at left rim and join bust point to rim. On this reverse, Mars is checked by winged Hymen holding torch, *SAEVUM PROCUL MARTEM FELIX TEDA RELEGAT. A. MDCCCX* exergue. PE Italian strike not in CGI.



[119]  
1810 Napoleon & Marie Louise Austrian Wedding



[120]  
1810 Entry of Empress in France



[121]  
1810 Napoleon & Marie Louise Italian Wedding

[122] Desaix Statue Medal, 1810. Bronze, 40.3mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Nicolas Brenet with input from Alexandre Evariste Fragonard. Bramsen 976, CGI 76A. Obverse laureate Napoleon head r. Reverse depicts the heroic nude statue in the Place des Victoires with arm extended to viewer's right, flanked by Eagle standard, ancient Egyptian obelisk, papyrus and head of colossal Memnon, A DESAIX/ XVC AOUT 1810.

The figure's nudity attracted mixed public comment. One Paris wit discovered that the arm seemed to point toward a famous men's outfitter and published a caricature with cutline, "Won't someone bring me a suit of clothes?" This statue was destroyed under the Bourbons, its Bronze going to create a restored equestrian statue of Henri IV. The Bonapartist sculptor silently objected, placing a standing Napoleon statue within Henri's hollow upper arm and stuffing the horse's belly with Bonapartist tracts and anti-Bourbon satires.

Napoleon's personal response to statuesque nudity was not consistent. He appears as a nude ancient hero on medals more than once but dismissed Antonio Canova's monumental nude called *Napoleon as Mars* as "too athletic" and forbade its public exhibition. Its appearance today in the stairwell of London's Apsley House recalls its role as the Duke of Wellington's major Napoleonic trophy, purchased for him with a parliamentary grant and the "good riddance" of Louis XVIII.

Six years after its obverse die was first employed for the Coronation Fetes Medal, Andre Galle's majestic laureate head of Napoleon inscribed NEAPOLIO IMPERATOR graced the [123] Jean Lannes, Duc de Montebello Funeral Medal, 1810. Bronze, 68mm. Bramsen 971. Close examination reveals the same network of exceedingly fine rills that at first glance suggest die cracks but were actually a feature of the original die.

The Reverse was capacious enough to accommodate a 20-line funeral ceremonies inscription, NAPOLEON/ A LA MEMOIR/ DU DUC DE MONTEBELLO/ MORT GLORIEUSMENT/ AUX CHAMPS D'ESSLING/ LE XXII . MAI M.DCC.IX./ POMPE FUNEBRE/ DANS LES BASILIQUES DES JNVALIDES/ ET DE STE. GENEVIEVE/ ORDONNE/ LE III. JANVIER M.DCCC.X./ PRESIDEE/ PAR S.A.R. LE PRINCE ARCHI-CHANCELIER DE L'EMPIRE/ DUC DE PARME/ CELEBREE/ PAR LES SOINS DE L.L.E.E./ LE DUC DE FELTRE MINISTRE DE LA GUERRE/ LE COMTE BIGOT DE PREAMENEU/ MINISTRE DES CULTES/ LE VI. JUILLET M.DCCC.X.

Marshal Jean Lannes (born 1769, died 1809) was an officer of unique skill and ability who first distinguished himself at Marengo. He was struck by a cannonball during the battle of Aspern-Essling. Amputations followed but he died nine days later in Vienna on May 31, 1809. His death wrung from Napoleon the anguished cry, "what a loss for France and for me!" One of first 18 Marshals created by Napoleon, Lannes was ennobled as Duke of Montebello in March 1808.

His solemn funeral was celebrated at the Invalides and the Basilica of Saint Genevieve on Jan. 3, 1810 in the presence of the Duc de Parme (Jean-Jacques-Régis de Cambacérès, former Second Consul) and the Duc de Feltre, Minister of War and Comte Bigot de Preameneu Minister of Cults. Only General Desaix received similar honors in death, a measure of both men's importance to Napoleon.

This specimen displays Coin Finish: the obverse bright Mint red, the reverse displays deeper red and blue sheen with perceptible hints of cloth pattern from 116 years of residence in an old-fashioned cabinet! Edge C-BRONZE, Maryland Collection.

Among the few Napoleonic medals devoted to youth was the [124] Orphans of the Legion d'Honneur Medal, 1810. Bronze, 41.6mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Alexis Depaulis, engr. Bramsen 980. Joining the usual laureate head r. is a maiden seated with back to the tomb of her father that bears the Cross of the Legion d'Honneur. In exergue, ORPHELINES DE LA LEGION/ D'HONNEUR/ MDCCCX. Edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.





[122]  
1810 Desaix Statue



[123]  
1810 Jean Lannes, Duc de Montebello Funeral



[124]  
1810 Orphans of the Legion d'Honneur

Some commentators believe that this medal encapsulates Napoleon's view of women's role in society. The girl plainly is in mourning for her soldier-father, under laurel forming a victor's crown, holding a book (carefully closed) and displaying a wicker basket with sewing materials. One may recall Napoleon's reply to a woman intellectual of his time who asked pointedly who should be regarded as the greatest lady of the day, to which the Emperor supposedly replied, "She who bore the largest number of children!"







# UNIQUE IN THEMSELVES: NAPOLEONIC MINI- MEDALET

A whole category exists of mini-medalets of Napoleon, his second spouse Marie Louise and their son the King of Rome. It is believed that the smallest were intended as largesse pieces to be thrown to the crowds cheering the imperial couple. Noted earlier was the Peace Negotiations with England Medalet, 1803. Bronze, 13.7mm. Bramsen 268, Essling 993. These tiny pieces bear only the name of DENON. DIR – G.D. , dir. The obverse presents a head of Bonaparte r. in ornate Corinthian casque, ARMÉ POUR LA PAIX.

The reverse features a stork “in its vigilance” holding a stone to be dropped into the water to warn the flock of approaching predators. Flanking are an olive spray, fulmen, À BONAPARTE DENON. DIR. G. D. E. MUSÉE C. D. ARTS. Deep red-brown. Plain Edge, trace of loop removed. A related design is the [125, not pictured] Two-head Napoleon Medalet, 1803. Silver, attached loop, 13.4mm, 1.1 g. Unsigned. Bramsen 268 var. Obverse as preceding, but reverse is a laureate head r., NAPOLEON – EMPEREUR. This example shows jewelry or pocket-piece wear.

There are several distinctive mini-medalets dedicated to the [126, 127] Marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise, by Nicolas Brenet and André Galle. 1810. Silver, 14.7 x 14.4mm, off round, loop removed, 1.1 g. and 14.7 x 13.4mm ovoid. Bramsen 956. The common obverse is a youthful laureate head r. NAPOLEON – EMPEREUR. Rev Imperial couple in ancient dress pledge their troth at an ancient fire altar, legend NAPOLEON EMP ET ROI – M. LOUISE D'AUTRICHE, 1810 in exergue. Boldly beaded borders, neither is precisely round, adding to the appearance of an ancient coin.

Napoleon & Marie Louise Marriage Medalet, 1810. (2). Silver, By Nicholas Brenet (obv), André Galle (rev). 13.5 x 14.8mm ovoid. Bramsen 956. [128] Obv Jugate heads of laureate Napoleon, diademed Marie Louise r., large A. BRENET F. below. Rev imperial couple in classic dress pledge troth at fire altar, date in exergue, French legend. Napoleon & Marie Louise Marriage Medalet, 1810. Bronze, by Bertrand Andrieu, engr. 13.5 x 14.8mm ovoid. Bramsen 955 var. Obv High rims, high relief jugate busts r., ANDRIEU F. below. Rev Couple at fire altar as above, GALLE on base. Rich mahogany patina, heavy die rust inside obv rim. Edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.



[126]  
1810 Marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise



[127]  
1810 Marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise



[128]  
1810 Napoleon & Marie Louise Marriage

## THE KING OF ROME, NAPOLEON II, L'AIGLON

Baby portraits are seldom satisfactory, though the following were the work of the great Napoleonic engravers of the time. [129] King of Rome Birth Medalet, 1811. Silver, 13.7mm, 1.4 g. By Bertrand Andrieu, Raymond Galle. Bramsen 1092. Obv Bold beaded border encloses heads of laureate Napoleon, diadem Marie Louise r. ANDRIEU F. at l., minute Cornucopia punch at 6:00. Rev Large baby bust l. NAPOLEON F.J.C. – ROI DE ROME, XX MARS/ MDCCCXI. Old cleaning. PE.

The classical allusions seen on the larger medals were repeated on the miniatures. [130] King of Rome Birth Medalet, 1810. Bronze, 16mm. By André Galle (obv), Nicolas-Pierre Tiolier (rev), engr. Bramsen 1094. Obv Baby bust l. NAPOLEON P.J.C. – ROI DE ROME. The initial P was inserted in error, noted by Bramsen with (!). Rev Wolf of Rome suckling a single infant (this single baby was not twins like Romulus and Remus), VINGT MARS, 1811 / N. TIOLIER. Bright red Coin Finish, Maryland Collection ca. 1885. C-BRONZE.

[131] King of Rome Paris & Rome First Birthday Medalet, 1811. Bronze, 19mm. Bramsen 1102. Obv Baby bust in bonnet, ruffles, XX MARS – MDCCCXI. Rev City goddesses of Paris (ship on cap), Rome with wolf cap with single infant, PARIS – ROME MDCCCX. C-BRONZE. Coin Finish ex Maryland Collection.





[129]  
1811 King of Rome Birth



[130]  
1810 King of Rome Birth



[131]  
1811 King of Rome Paris & Rome First Birthday

## BONAPARTE FAMILY MEDALETTS À LA ANCIENNE

A uniquely charming subsection of Napoleonic interest is formed by this group of 22mm medalets, listed by Bramsen under the date 1808, with footnote “Bien que cette médaille et la suivante portent, en grec, le millésime 1813, je les classe, comme d’autres l’ont fait aussi, avec les 6 médailles de module 22 mm. frappées en l’honneur de PAULINE, CAROLINE et ELISA, soeurs de Napoléon. Il n’y a en effet que les deux pièces de la reine Hortense et la première de celles de la reine Caroline qui portent un millésime.”

In some ways more reminiscent of ancient carved gems, their order of appearance here follows that of Lisa and Joachim Zeitz, 2003. They form a natural subdivision that offers a somewhat light-hearted chapter in the Napoleonic medal saga. [132] Princess Elisa Medalet, 1808. Bronze, 22.9mm, 1.5mm thick. Bramsen 775, Zeitz 138 (uniface). By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Obv Diadem head r., Greek legend ELISA Sister of the Emperor, ligate ALN below. Rev Adapted from the Lucca to Nice Highway Medal, with reclining Vibilia, Goddess of Roads holding a wheel with military column at left. Exergue VIA DA LUCCA A PISA, Lucca to Pisa Road. DENON D., BRENET F. below.

Reverse recalls Elisa’s unceasing labors to improve her principality, which included reactivating the historic Carrara marble quarries which then produced some 1,600 life-sized busts of Napoleon for purchase by municipalities and ambitious civil and military servants of the Empire, Bright red coin finish, C-BRONZE, ex Maryland Collection.

[133] Princess Pauline Borghèse Three Graces Medalet, 1813. Bronze, 22.5mm, 2.4mm thick. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Bramsen 770, Zeitz 139. This obverse presents a youthful head l. with hair carefully curled, Greek PAULINA SEBASTOY ADELPHI, Pauline Sister of the Emperor. Rev Standing nude Three Graces, IMON KLAN BASILEUE, Belle, sois notre Reine. Two contrasting examples: Glossy red-brown, 2mm; fiery red and light blue coin finish, 1.7mm thick ex Maryland Collection edge C-BRONZE, Ca. 1885.

[134] Queen Caroline Medalet, 1808. Bronze, 22.2mm, 2.3mm thick. By Nicolas Brenet, engr. Bramsen 772, Zeitz 138. Obv. Head r. á la Arethusa, Greek BASILESSA – KAROLINA, tiny myrtle plant, rose, BP below. Rev Man-headed bull of ancient Gela crowned by flying Nike, minute ΑΩΗ above, ΔΕΝ Denon below. Exergue Greek NEOPOLITON. Two contrasting examples: 2.1mm thick PE, Glossy brown; 1.4mm thick, C-BRONZE.





[132]  
1808 Princess Elisa



[133]  
1813 Princess Pauline Borghèse Three Graces



[134]  
1808 Queen Caroline



Napoleon's stepdaughter is portrayed on two contrasting examples of the [135] Queen Hortense Medalet, 1813. Bronze, 22.7mm, 2.2mm thick and 1.5mm thick. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Bramsen 769, Zeitz 141 shows different reverse). Obv Flower-crowned head r. Greek legend ORTISIA BASILESSA, ANB ligate below.

Rev Canvas on easel presents a partial woman's portrait, above emblems of sculpture and music below, book with ROMANC/ ES on cover. Zeitz plate shows Hortense Mint Visit reverse. Exergue TIMOSI TIMOMENAI/ E. AOIG. Les Arts honorent qui les honore, l.An 1813. PE of old strike, light glossy brown; bright red coin finish, ex Maryland Collection, ca. 1885. Edge C-BRONZE.

[136] Empress Marie Louise Mint Visit Medalet, 1813. Bronze, 23mm, 1.8mm thick. By Bertrand Andrieu (obv), Nicolas Brenet (rev), engr. Bramsen 1303, Zeitz 137. Obv Diadem head r., in dotted border, anepigraphic but for ANDRIEU F below truncation. Rev Balancier coining press under ligate ML in glory. Exergue inscription includes extra I before IMPERATRICE, and recut final E, MARIE I LOUISE/ A HONORÉ DE SA PRESENCE/ LA M. DE MÉDAILLES/ MDCCCXIII. Several die cracks. Red and faint purple coin finish, ex Maryland Collection, edge C-BRONZE.

These medalets show generally cheerful designs. The nudity of the Three Graces easily calls to mind the reclining nude statue of Venus Victrix created by prince of sculptors Antonio Canova. Pauline's relaxed expression also suggests her rejoinder to a censorious older woman at court who asked fussily whether she had been uncomfortable posing virtually nude, "Oh no, there was a fire in the chamber!"

•

Napoleon had pinned great hopes on his second marriage, which should have cemented an alliance with the ancient House of Habsburg and neutralized threats from that direction. As he had prepared (with whatever regret) to jettison Josephine he had agonized over the question of his physical ability to sire children. During 1806 he had conducted a kind of controlled experiment with Louise Catharine Eléonore Denuelle de la Philippe (born 1787, died 1860) whose son Count Leon (born 1806, died 1881) was widely believed to be his.

A more certain offspring resulted from his passionate relationship with the young and beautiful Polish noblewoman Countess Maria Walewska, who was induced by her elderly husband and leaders of the Polish independence movement to sacrifice her virtue to Napoleon to assure his support for the recreation of an independent Poland. Their son Count Alexandre Walewski (born 1810, died 1868) long served in the French diplomatic corps. No medals recall this relationship.

However unwillingly, the new imperial couple appear to have accommodated themselves remarkably smoothly to married life, Napoleon showing animation as he counselled his staff "to marry German girls!" Surviving correspondence of Marie Louise describes a remarkably tranquil relationship, though her basic ability to adapt to circumstances beyond her control would be tried repeatedly in the disasters of 1814-1815 and beyond.

Among official medals recalling the arrival of Napoleon's heir is the [137] Birth of the King of Rome Medal, 1811. Bronze, 41mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Julien Marie Jouannin, engr. Bramsen 1099. The obverse bears a large, high relief baby bust l., NAPOLEON FRANÇOIS JOSEPH CHARLES ROI DE ROME, XX MARS MDCCCXI.

This medal's singularly unattractive reverse depicts Marie Louise rather stiffly as a frumpy Roman matron holding the infant, NAISSANCE DU ROI DE ROME. Cleaned long ago, this example is an uneven red-brown. Edge Bee-CUIVRE.





[135]  
1813 Queen Hortense



[136]  
1813 Empress Marie Louise Mint Visit



[137]  
1811 Birth of the King of Rome

# TWO EXPRESSIONS OF ONE BAPTISM - 1811

Among the most remarkable large-diameter medals of the empire is the [138, 139] King of Rome Baptism Medal, 1811. Bronze, 68mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr., Lafitte, Dir. Mirroring the events of 1811-1815, this impressive medal can be found in two dramatically different forms (Bramsen 1125 and 1126; CGI 70D).

[Bramsen 1125] The first to appear ranks with the Soverainités Donnés Medal of 1806 as a forthright expression of glory of the Grand Empire, then nearing its peak. The dramatic obverse shows the standing laureate Emperor in gala court costume holding his son high over a baptismal font, olive spray and Bible l., winged lion throne r. Exergue BAPTEME DU ROI DE ROME/ M.DCCC.XI. The first reverse is inscribed at center A L'EMPEREUR/ LES BONNES VILLES/ DE L'EMPIRE within a double circle of mural crowns each bearing the name of one of the "Good Cities" in alphabetical order.

The outer row: PARIS, ALEXANDRIE (Alessandria), AIX LA CHAPE[LLE] (Aachen), AMIENS, ANGERS, ANVERS (Antwerpen), BESANÇON, BORDEAUX, BOURGES, BRÉME (Bremen), BRUXELLES, CAEN, CLERMONT, COLOGNE (Köln), DIJON, FLORENCE, GAND (Ghent), GÊNES (Genoa), GENÈVE, GRENOBLE, HAMBOURG, LA ROCHELLE, LIÈGES, LILLE.

The inner row: ROME, AMSTERDAM, LIVOURNE (Livorno), LUBECK, LYON, MARSEILLE, MAYENCE (Mainz), METZ. MONTPELLI[ER], MONTAUBA[N], NANCY, NANTES, NICE, ORLÈANS, PARME (Parma), PLAISSANCE (Piacenza), REIMS, RENNES, ROUEN, ROTTERDAM, STRASBOUR[G], TOULOUSE, TOUR, TURIN, VERSAILLES.

This triumphal reverse was hurriedly replaced in 1815 by an anepigraphic design incorporating Napoleon's laureate head l. with ANDRIEU F on truncation, DENON D on the field below. Bramsen 1126. This design was quickly substituted after the Emperor's return from Elba for the earlier Les Bonnes Villes de l'Empire, now obsolete as 22 of the Villes no longer belonged to France! This is the form offered by the Paris Mint today with edge C-BRONZE and tan-gold patina.

Heavy with classical imagery is the [140] King of Rome-Infant Hercules First Birthday Medal, 1811. Bronze, 41.5mm. By I. Schmidt, engr. Bramsen 1108, Forrer V:390. Obv Large baby bust l. NAPOLEON FRANCOIS JOSEPH – CHARLES ROI DE ROME, XX MARS MDCCCXI, Rev Infant Hercules strangling serpents in his bed. VIRTUS PRINCIPIS FIRMAMENTVM REIPUBLICAE. Coin finish. Deep red, blue red. C-BRONZE ex Maryland Collection, ca. 1885.







[138]  
1811 King of Rome Baptism (Bramsen 1125)



[139]  
1811 King of Rome Baptism (Bramsen 1126)



[140]  
1811 King of Rome - Infant Hercules First Birthday

# THE FINAL BATTLES, 1812 - 1815

The stream of unceasing victories seriously faltered in 1812. The fighting in distant Spain had become a running sore, and the catastrophic decision to invade Russia would lead directly to Napoleon's ruin in 1813-1814. A medal or two would appear recording early successes after the Grand Army invaded Russia, an army composed in part of non-French units from the Confederation of the Rhine, the former Poland, Italy and Austria (nominally now an ally of Napoleon).

Among its leaders, in addition to Napoleon himself, were Marshal Ney and the flamboyant and fearless Marshal Murat, King of Naples who entertained the Cossacks shadowing the Grand Army with daring feats of superb horsemanship.

In preparing for this campaign, Napoleon did not lack competent and experienced advisors, notably General Armand de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza (born 1773, died 1827). This fearless officer had served in Russia as French envoy to Emperor Alexander I and well understood the looming peril of the Russian winter for armies who had never experienced its rigors.

Incredibly, Napoleon refused to accept the carefully reasoned warnings Caulaincourt offered, and delighted in needling his advisor at every turn during the unusually warm Russian summer and fall of 1812, sneering about "this Russian winter Caulaincourt likes to frighten children with!"

Catastrophic failures in planning were evident even before the weather finally turned. The lack of proper provisions and adequate shoeing for the thousands of horses needed for the cavalry and artillery soon became apparent. Napoleon's expectations of living off the country were frustrated both by the thousands of leagues of emptiness opening before the invaders and the lack of such facilities as mills awaiting capture. "How many mills may I expect to find on the road to Moscow?" Napoleon asked, "NONE, Sire!" was the unexpected reply.

His plan was to overtake the retreating Russian forces, force them to a standstill and smash them with one or two set piece battles, after which Alexander would have to negotiate. Instead, the Russians continued to melt away into the vastness of the interior, refusing to give battle and opportunity to the Grand Army. As successful as it proved to be, this continuous retreat infuriated senior Russian officers, who finally forced Alexander to take a stand at Borodino before the French could reach Moscow.

The first recognizable victory came early in the invasion of Russia, marked by the [141] Capture of Wilna Medal, 1812. Bronze, 42mm, by Bertrand Andrieu, engr. Bramsen 1156. The medal illustrated bears a laureate head r. (not the CGI obverse offered today). The reverse shows a standing Napoleon in uniform of the Chasseurs of the Guard, grasping a saber by its blade (!) and shield held out to him by Polish and Lithuanian warriors, the first in distinctive czapska headdress, the other in a barbaric beast's pelt with paws hanging over his forehead. No Polish nor Russian troops wore such a costume.

In exergue PRISE DE WILNA/ XXVIII JUIN MDCCCXII. This light red-brown plain edge example shows a single die segment line. Earlier cataloguers have called the two warriors Polish and Russian, but until the Partitions, Wilna (Lithuanian Vilnius, Polish Wilno) had been capital of the vast Grand Duchy of Lithuania, long a key unit of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Zeitz



[141]  
*1812 Capture of Wilna*



notes the warrior's barbarous appearance might have been designed to offer visual contrast to the military trimness of the bare-headed Napoleon.

The French advance continued without the desired battle or capture of any meaningful numbers of prisoners. Dated August 1812 but numbered Bramsen 1158 is the [142] French Eagles over the Dnieper Medal, 1812. Bronze 40.4mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Henri François Brandt. The obverse is similar to the preceding medals, the reverse presents a classical bearded river god seated on rocks with a Quellurne spilling water with a French eagle standard visible over his shoulder.

In exergue is the river's ancient geographical name in the inscription L'AIGLE FRANÇAISE/ SUR LE BORYSTHÈNE/ M. DCCCXII. Continuing their advance, fast-moving French forces under Ney and Junot routed Russian troops from what was traditionally regarded as the "Holy City" of Smolensk, a little over half the distance to Moscow. By now the Grand Army had already been fatally weakened, innumerable horses had been lost and critical supplies wasted.

Napoleon's general disregard for the army's medical services has been noted by most historians. The ambulances and medical corps had been outdistanced in the advance, though the entire medical arm had started out in a state gravely weakened by corruption and profiteering. Then too, Napoleon's well-known use of military hospitals as prisons for soldiers who had displeased him did not add to the quality of medical care.

Elite units such as the Old Guard received the best of everything, but by Smolensk there were few of any vitally needed supplies left for any units. Simply keeping the soldiers fed was proving a herculean chore. Modern forensic researchers have examined French skeletons in mass graves near Wilna and found endless evidence of near-starvation along with crude amputations that caused limitless deaths.

As Caulaincourt wrote, common soldiers were permitted to loot, while officers were forbidden to do so. He described common soldiers feasting in Smolensk on looted chickens and livestock with hundreds of eggs roasting amid the embers while officers looked on hungrily.

Discontent within the Russian armies at the continuing retreat began to boil over and helped trigger the next major battle, marked by the [143] Battle of the Moskowa Medal, Sept. 7, 1812, by Bertrand Andrieu and Romain Vincent Jeuffroy. Bramsen 1162. This battle is generally known abroad as Borodino. Its portrait obverse is similar to the preceding.

This spirited reverse depicts a French hussar with saber at the ready riding down a Russian artillerist, trampling another underfoot. Both are encumbered by clumsy Frederick the Great-era uniforms, and neither wears a wild beast's pelt! Abandoned Russian cannon occupy the field. In exergue BATAILLE DE LA MOSCOWA/ VII SEPTEMBRE/ MDCCCXII.

In a letter to his father-in-law Emperor Francis, Napoleon estimated Russian losses 40 to 50,000 men out of the 120 to 130,000 taking part in the battle; French losses he set at between 8 and 10,000 men. After the battle, Marshal Ney was promoted from Prince of Elchingen to Prince of the Moskowa.

At the end of the blood-letting, only the Guard remained substantially intact. Both Russians and French would claim the blood-soaked fields of Borodino as a victory but as J.R.R. Tolkien wrote in the next century, "If this be victory, our hands are too weak to hold it!"

Nonetheless, the French pressed on and reached the walls of the abandoned city of Moscow on September 14. Here Napoleon's ultimate plan was frustrated. The Emperor was now in uncertain health, preoccupied and anxious but betting all on the seizure of Moscow, which he was convinced would bring Alexander to the negotiating table.

Showing a marvelously optimistic spirit is the [144] Entry into Moscow Medal, 1812. Bronze, 40.2mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Henri François Brandt. Bramsen 1164. Joining another



[142]  
*1812 French Eagles over the Dnieper*



[143]  
*Sept. 7, 1812 Batle of the Moskowa*



[144]  
*1812 Entry into Moscow*

laureate head obverse, the reverse presents a wonderfully detailed view of the Moscow Kremlin walls dominated by the great Spassky tower from which flies the French tricolor.

Accustomed to receiving the surrender of such cities as Vienna and Berlin and to dealing with their mayors to promote public security, the Emperor expected to meet with “a delegation of Boyars” at the gates of the Kremlin to assure orderly administration under what was sure to be a brief French occupation. The reality was far different though it might have been predicted by earlier Russian emptying of all towns on the road.

Nearly all Russian military and civilians had fled Moscow before the French entry, including the Governor Prince Rostopchin and all resident noble families and their servants. It soon became obvious that they had taken with them the fire brigades and their equipment. Napoleon was mystified, still hoping for word from Alexander that might lead to peace.

Still no word came, though marauding Cossacks let the King of Naples know that their admiration of his bravery guaranteed that no Cossack would shoot him. He was fed optimistic and wholly false reports that Marshal Kutuzov was leading a Russian retreat to distant Kazan and that the Cossacks were preparing to defect to the French.

Napoleon now gave serious thought to wintering over in the echoing, empty capital but the sudden, obviously coordinated outbreak of raging fires across the vast city resulted in the immolation of three-quarters of its structures and rendered it unfit as a winter refuge.

The Emperor appeared to dither as Fall closed in on French positions and seemingly inexhaustible numbers of fast-riding Cossacks harried the French lines of communication that stretched westward toward Wilna, Poland and ultimately Paris. Napoleon was increasingly concerned about his extended absence from the capital where a state prisoner, General Claude François de Malet (born 1754, died 1812) actually launched an ambitious plot against the imperial regime on October 23.

Malet had fought in the Revolution but as a steadfast republican opposed Napoleon’s coup of 18 Brumaire and his coronation in 1804. He had served as governor of Pavia in the Kingdom of Italy until discharged by Prince Eugene de Beauharnais and interned at La Force prison for black marketeering in 1808.

He prepared a startlingly effective coup, relying on amazing effrontery. Escaping prison, obtaining a general’s uniform and spreading a false report of Napoleon’s death before Moscow, he had prepared and now exhibited an array of skillfully forged documents to clear the way for setting up a provisional government minus the imperial family.

Set aside were the absent Emperor’s specific contingency plans that would have set up a regency under Empress Marie Louise for his son who would be proclaimed as Napoleon II. It became painfully obvious that French loyalty was firmly focused solely on the Emperor, not his wife and son.

Malet subverted the Gendarmerie in Paris, arrested Minister of Police the Duke of Rovigo and was well on his way to consolidate his new regime before Colonel Jean Doucet recognized him and derailed the coup. Malet and 23 others were tried on October 29 and shot. Napoleon was right to worry. Heavily on his mind were the probable effects of the stalemate and looming disaster on his wobbly allies including Austria, Prussia and the several German states.

There would be one more triumphal medal before the beginning of the catastrophic retreat from Moscow, the [145] French Eagles over the Volga Medal, 1812. By Bertrand Andrieu and Auguste François Michaut (born 1786, died 1879). Bransen 1166. The reverse shows the river god of the Volga fleeing r. from an eagle standard planted among the rocks at l. A large, prehistoric-looking sturgeon surfaces at r. above exergue inscription L’AIGLE FRANÇAISE/ SUR LE VOLGA/ M.DCCCXII. In fact, Napoleon himself never reached this river, but remained in Moscow.





[145]  
*1812 French Eagles over the Volga*

After weeks of uncertainty, clinging to the hope that Alexander would at last agree to talks, Napoleon withdrew from Moscow with all his forces on October 19, still lusting for a final victory over the elusive Kutuzov. The chronicle of the retreat was one of increasing horror, starvation, disorganization and after the weather turned, freezing and death of both men and horses.

News of the Malet conspiracy reached the retreating forces and caused serious dislocation. By the time the French reached Smolensk, their losses were devastating and increasing mile by mile. Ice, snow and sub-freezing temperatures were now everywhere, provisions and horses dwindling. The Emperor now decided "I can only hold my grip on Europe from the Tuileries," and left the army on December 5 at 10:00 at night and set off by sledge with Caulaincourt for far-off Warsaw.

No medals fully chronicle the end of the Russian disaster. There is, however, [146] Retreat of the Army Medal dated November 1812, Bronze, 40.2mm by Bertrand Andrieu and André Galle. Bramsen 1168. The usual heroic laureate bust r. dominates the obverse. While not denying the awful sufferings and defeat of the Grand Armée, the reverse artfully places the blame entirely on the once-scorned Russian winter.

A desolate winter landscape is littered with a dead tree and burning wagon, dead horse and overturned cannon amid the ruins of its wheeled carriage. A figure in Roman armor and helmet with a thoroughly inadequate lion's pelt is attacked from the air by Boreas, spirit of the North Wind wielding a huge inflated bladder that blasts freezing wind and snow at the warrior.

This soldier is nowhere specifically identified as French; Todd erroneously calls him Russian. The design presents no hint of the fatal lack of adequate planning and provisioning which were equally disastrous to the ill-fated expedition. Zeitz traces the warrior to the general design of the Borghese Gladiator, an ancient art work then a guest at the Louvre.

This entire design is an artistic side-step that has fooled no one since 1812. From here on, the trend of the Napoleonic medal departs from the earlier path of endless victories into an increasingly depressing chronicle of defeat and loss, culminating in the shipwreck of 1814-1815.

After the Emperor's breakneck race with Caulaincourt across Europe to Paris he was immediately obliged to re-create an army to face the sixth coalition against imperial France. Napoleon now fielded an army of 120,000 men, including many young and untried conscripts against British forces commanded by the Duke of Wellington and Russian and Prussian forces led by Wittgenstein and Blücher.

Recording what was billed as a victory was the [147] Battle of Lutzen Medal, 1813. Bronze, 41mm, 7mm thickest. By Alexis Depaulis (obv), Nicolas Brenet (rev), engr. Bramsen 1229, Zeitz 132. A new obverse presents a very high relief uniformed bust r., under a laurel crown floating above, NAPOLEON – EMP. ET ROI. This example shows uneven thickness with a die spike from rim past ROI, high point rim at bust point.

The reverse dramatizes a Prussian cavalryman and Cossack fleeing to r., spear touching the right rim. In the background the tiny figures of a French army advance r. In exergue BATAILLE DE LUTZEN/ II. MAI MDCCCXIII, A hand-filed cud joins the left hooves to the rim. Plain Edge. This medal appears in the Medal Mint list reproduced in Laskey and Zeitz as non frappée, officially not struck though listed!

Next issued was the [148] Battle of Wurtchen Medal, 1813. Bronze, 41.2mm. By Alexis-Joseph Depaulis and Nicolas Brenet, Bramsen 1232, Zeitz 133. Here is the same uniformed bust obverse, and like the preceding medal was described as non frappée, (officially) not struck though appearing on the Mint List. Its reverse depicts stacked muskets, banners and a heavy littering of captured weapons and helmets within legend INFANTERIE FRANCAISE BATAILLE DE WURTCHEN, exergue XXI MAI MDCCCXIII.



[146]  
*November 1812 Retreat of the Army*



[147]  
*1813 Battle of Lutzen*



[148]  
*1813 Battle of Wurtchen*



Neither Lutzen nor Wurtchen could reverse the seemingly inexorable turn of the tide against French arms, nor could they swiftly make up for the absence of the thousands of dead men and horses strewn over the plains of Russia. Neither was the aging and overweight Napoleon of 1814 possessed of the matchless energy and force he had in earlier years.

These last two medals effectively ended the series of Napoleonic victories. There is no contemporary French medal for the epic Battle of Leipzig. The 1913 Centennial of what would be celebrated by Prussia as the War of Liberation was marked with Silver two- and three-Mark commemorative coins.

These bore an equestrian figure of Frederick William III with cheering citizens, DER KÖNIG RIEF UND ALLE, ALLE KAMEN, the King Called and All Came. Cynics reworded this to reflect the King's lackluster performance to "The People Called, and the King Came, RELUCTANTLY." The reverses showed the Prussian eagle in flight, grasping a struggling serpent.

The medals that follow are generally devoted to retreat and ultimate exile. Napoleon was driven back on Paris, and fighting ensued around the capital. Recalling this tragic time was the [149] Invasion of 1814 Medal, Bronze, 41mm, 4.3mm thick. By Nicolas Brenet, engr. Bramsen 1363, CGI II:84D.

This obverse presents a gaunt, distinctly low-relief though oversize Napoleon bust r. in Garde Nationale uniform, a prominent vein visible in the forehead (CGI effigie 17). This depressing likeness will appear on several medals that chronicle the final decline of Napoleon's fortunes. On the reverse a Cossack menaces French women and child flanked by tiny wolves and a burning home, MALHEURS DE LA GUERRE MARS MDCCCXIV, Misfortunes of War in exergue. This example exhibits a dark glossy red-brown patina, edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.

Though he won four battles (Champaubert, Montmirail, Chateau-Thierry and Vauchamps), Napoleon had to seriously consider several offers for ending the war and formally abdicated at last on April 11, 1814. [150] Abdication of Fontainebleau Medal, 1813. By Nicolas Brenet. Bronze 41mm. By Bertrand Andrieu and Nicolas Brenet, engr. Bramsen 1386, CGI II:85F. The obverse presents the uniformed bust of the preceding.

On the reverse, a standing Napoleon dressed in his legendary chasseurs uniform signs his abdication as a wild figure of Fury stands behind wielding a flaming torch. Interpretations of this design vary. Either Fury is trying to prevent the abdication to assure defeat and anarchy, or threatening such anarchy should the Emperor refuse to sign.

This document specified his abdication in favor of a regency under Empress Marie Louise for his son the King of Rome as Napoleon II. His indecisive brother Joseph and the supple Talleyrand helped set aside this settlement and Marie Louise was soon removed from France with her infant son by Emperor Francis. Not long after, even the exchange of letters with her defeated husband ceased.

Having rejected Napoleon's abdication, the Allies imposed the Treaty of Fontainebleau, April 11, 1814, in which the exhausted Napoleon agreed to conditions set by representatives of Austria, Prussia and Russia. By its terms, his earlier abdication was ignored; he and his consort would retain their imperial titles and he would receive rule over the island of Elba off the coast of Tuscany with a guarantee of a million francs annually from the new French Royal government.

In point of fact, the new government never paid the stipulated stipend. The British flatly refused to sign the agreement, declining to recognize even the minuscule principality that was Elba and pointing out rather presciently just how perilously close it was to the mainland!

Two somewhat melodramatic medals dated April 1814 recall his abdication and withdrawal from France, both with the gaunt bust described above. First is [151] Napoleon's Farewell to the Old Guard Medal, 1814. Bronze, 41mm, 4.9mm thick. By Nicolas Brenet, engr. Bramsen 1404, Essling 1460.



[149]  
*Invasion of 1814*



[150]  
*1813 Abdication of Fontainebleau*



[151]  
*1814 Napoleon's Farewell to the Old Guard*

On the reverse a standing emperor averting his eyes holds the staff of a banner, dismissing a weeping Old Guardsman in tall bearskin, AVRIL MDCCCXIV in exergue. With dark glossy brown patina, the edge bears the Pointing Hand CUIVRE edgemark. This medal is not listed in CGI.

Similar in spirit is the [152] Old Guard Burning its Colors Medal, 1814. Bronze, 41mm, 4.5mm thick. By Nicolas Brenet, Alexis Depaulis, engr. Bramsen 1408, Essling 1461. This rather stiff reverse shows four Grogards of the Old Guard burning their regimental colors along with their wooden staffs and breaking their bronze eagles to keep them out of the victors' grasp, AVRIL MDCCCXIV in exergue.

The meaning of this distinctly stilted scene and its rigid figures is not immediately apparent, which may explain why this design is not currently offered by the Paris Mint. Deep red-brown. Edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE. This reverse recalls Caulaincourt's memory of starving French soldiers in Moscow roasting looted chickens over an open fire, the soldier in the rear passing an actual wing! As it turns out, this was the bronze wing of a broken imperial eagle.

April in Paris now witnessed a breath-taking carousel of fast-changing allegiances, loyalties, and the rustle of turning coats. A number of medals were struck by the Paris Mint honoring Napoleon's adversaries during their first occupation of the capital, created by the same artists who up to this point had provided medals for the Napoleonic series.

While not including all of these, one in particular stands out and deserves particular notice, the [153] Alexander I Sojourn in Paris Medal, 1814. Bronze, 40.4mm. By Bertrand Andrieu, engr., Denon Dir. Reichel 3280, Bramsen 1464, Zeitz 142. This obverse presents a high-relief youthful laureate head r. with title ALEXANDRE I. EMPEREUR DE TOUTES LES RUSSIES.

"Tsar" was often used in contemporary reports but this title had been superseded by Emperor during the reign of Peter the Great a century earlier. On this reverse Fame is seated on a pedestal bearing an ouroboros, (serpent with its tail in its mouth) inscribing a tablet with script Sejour/ d'Alex 1./ a Paris. MDCCCXIV. HL. Deep brown prooflike surfaces. PE, rotated rev. Additional reasons for inclusion of this medal will be found below.







[152]  
1814 Old Guard Burning its Colors



[153]  
1814 Alexander I Sojourn in Paris

# MEDALS OF THE RESTORED BOURBONS

The approaching defeat of Napoleon inflamed long-simmering royalist opposition led by the surviving brothers of King Louis XVI, Louis Stanislas Xavier, Comte de Provence (born 1755, died 1824) and Charles Philippe, Comte d'Artois (born 1757, died 1836). Both princes had joined the earliest waves of émigrés from Revolutionary France and had led royalist opposition from exile for the next 25 years.

In exile in Verona, the Comte de Provence had proclaimed himself King Louis XVIII upon receiving word of the death in the Temple prison of the Dauphin, son of Louis XVI in 1795, recognized by the Royalists as King Louis XVII.

This succession was marked years later by the [154] Optimo Jure Medal, Bronze, 50mm, by Bertrand Andrieu and Romain-Vincent Jeuffroy, engrs., Jean Pierre de Marcassus Baron de Puymaurin, Dir. The legend Optimo Jure, By the Best Law underlined the asserted legitimacy of the royal succession.

Long widowed, childless and in ill health, the aging pretender had lived in increasingly penurious exile in remote Mitau in Russian Lithuania before settling in England. Opposing factions backed self-promoting Louis-Philippe Duc d'Orléans, First Prince of the Blood and son of the scheming regicide Philippe "Egalité" who voted for the execution of his cousin the King and Queen during the Terror.

Louis Philippe was father of six sons and posed as an ardent enthusiast of the early victories of the First Republic and was an enthusiast of the Tricolor flag. An outside contender was Napoleon's former Marshal Bernadotte, now Crown Prince of Sweden.

Louis XVIII secured the critical support of the ever-intriguing Charles-Maurice Talleyrand Périgord, erstwhile Bishop of Autun, later Prince of the Empire and Duc de Bénévvent. This supple statesman now engineered the Bourbon Restoration through Emperor Alexander of Russia on the plea that only a Legitimate monarch could secure France against further revolutionary and republican outbreaks.

Bourbon supporters thronged the streets of occupied Paris crowded with wandering Allied soldiers wearing white armbands to identify themselves as victors. These included soldiers from England, European Russia and Siberia, Prussians and troops from western Germany and the Austrian dominions.

French royalists quickly seized on this whiteness as evidence of non-existent Allied support for a Bourbon Restoration, and hastened to bedeck themselves with white cockades and drape buildings with white sheets now nobly promoted to royal banners.

Prince de Talleyrand seized this moment to arrange a manifestation at the Opéra, where Emperor Alexander attended a performance of *La Vestale* to the acclaim of royalist ladies throwing white cockades. At intermission the lead singer Lays advanced to the footlights and sang:

Of Alexander I sing!  
Long live this mighty king!  
Without dictating laws



[154]  
*Optimo Jure*



Or making any claim,  
This highly noble prince  
Has won a triple fame:  
An upright and heroic man,  
He brought the Bourbons back again.

The next day saw the Napoleonic Chambers formally declare Napoleon deposed without mention of his infant son, nominate Tallyrand as president of the provisional government and declare that “the French people freely call to the throne Louis Stanislas-Xavier, brother of the last King.”

This call was promptly accepted by its addressee in London, who lost no time in recasting his accession to be the result of legitimacy and royal succession rather than to any invitation from the Chambers. He did, however, agree to a Charte or quasi-constitution which in theory would limit arbitrary royal power.

There was always an element of fantasy in royalist claims. As Roi légitime, Louis dated his reign from June 8, 1795, confirmed by his Feb. 18, 1803 rejection of Napoleon’s generous terms for a formal abdication of Bourbon claims. This act was commemorated by the [155] Warsaw Abdication Proposals Rejection Medal by Bertrand Andrieu struck after the Restoration. Few of these Restoration medals are offered in CGI today.

Napoleon had tried to convince the Roi légitime to abandon his claims in exchange for a generous financial settlement. From exile at Warsaw, Louis rejected temptation, a decision commemorated by the 51mm Bronze medal with its aged bust r. of LVDOVICVS XVIII FRANC. ET NAV. REX.

The reverse shows the Lawful King rejecting a document offered by masked Deceit accompanied by armed and veiled Force, NEC. VIS. NEC FALLACIA. ERIEPIET, FACTIONES. ABDICANDI/ REPVDIATAE/ VARSOVIAE. XVIII. FEBR. M.D.CCC.III. Neither by Force nor Falsehood, Abdication Proposals Rejected at Warsaw 18 Feb. 1803. Bramsen 261. Edge: Main Indicatrice (Pointing Hand) and CUIVRE, Copper.

Napoleon’s supporters and later generations of anti-Bourbon historians could never accept that the Royalists represented a major force in French political life and that the Restoration had been hoped and worked for since Louis XVI stood before the guillotine. They now congregated enthusiastically in the streets of Paris and their white cockades were seen everywhere, duly noted by Allied representatives in the capital.

Tallyrand’s intrigues brought Allied consent for the Restoration, however unenthusiastically, and it was now critically important for Louis XVIII to make his triumphant entry into his capital. Here again reality is alloyed with medallic fantasy. The newly proclaimed king was seriously overweight and in poor health, so crippled by gout that he could scarcely stand.

Unable to rise from his bed, there being no time to lose, he appointed his brother Charles Philippe Comte d’Artois, Monsieur Frere du Roi, (born 1757, died 1836) Lieutenant General of the Realm and dispatched him to an anxious Paris. The official medal] by Raymond Gayrard, commemorating Artois’ entry on April 12, 1814 side-stepped the Prince’s almost incoherent joy, expressed breathlessly to his official host Tallyrand, “I am so happy, Monsieur de Tallyrand! Come along, come along, I am so happy!!

Instead, a fictitious but vastly more dignified quotation was provided, “Nothing has changed in France! There is just one Frenchman more!” [156] Comte d’Artois Paris Entry Medal, 1814. Bronze, 40.6mm, By Raymond Gayrard, engr. Bramsen 1403, Essling 1465. The obverse bears a bust in the uniform of a Colonel General of the Garde Nationale with sash and Star of the Holy



[155]  
*Warsaw Abdication Proposals Rejection*



[156]  
*1814 Comte d'Artois Paris Entry*

Spirit within legend CHARLES PHILIPPE DE FCE. MONSIEUR CTE. D'ARTOIS. dark brown patina and plain edge.

It should be noted that Louis XVIII resisted the temptation to abolish the Legion d'Honneur as he restored the royal Orders whose chief was the Ordre du Saint Esprit, Order of the Holy Spirit. The confusing imagery of these decorations was later dramatized by the Danish ambassador when he brought Louis XVIII his country's Order of the Elephant, announcing "Our Holy Spirit is an Elephant!"

The reverse bears the quote attributed (or more properly provided) to the Prince as he entered the capital after 23 years' exile, RIEN/ N'EST CHANGÉ/ EN FRANCE/ IL N'Y A QU'UN FRANÇAIS/ DE PLUS, Nothing is changed in France, there is only one Frenchman more! The exergue is inscribed LE 12 AVRIL 1814, S.A.R. MONSIEUR FRERE DU ROI/ , LIEUTENANT GAL. DU ROYAUME/ FAIT SON ENTRÉE/ A PARIS.

Issued soon after, two 41mm Bronze medals marked Louis' own belated return to France. The first in a somewhat non-French style by Bertrand Andrieu and Nicolas Brenet, Bramsen 1406, Zeitz 145. [157] It bears Louis' undraped bust, the reverse depicting a sailing ship approaching the coast, welcomed by the figure of France en habits royaux. The legend captures the real thinking of much of the civil population, Il Porte la Paix du Monde, It Bears the Peace of the World. PE.

A distinctly more ornate and classical design by the same two artists graces the [158] Paris Entry of the King and Duchess of Angoulême Medal. Bronze, 41mm. Bramsen 1410, Zeitz 146. Here classical fantasy returns. Standing erect on the reverse in a Roman chariot, the King rides with his niece (daughter of slain Louis XVI) through the Porte St. Denis, greeted by city goddess and citizen while winged Peace flies overhead. LOUIS XVIII ENTRE A PARIS/ III. MAI MDCCCXIV appears in exergue. Ex Virgil M. Brand Collection.

This scene is almost wholly fictional as the King could scarcely stand and the Duchess, now married to her first cousin the Duc Angoulême was tormented by frightful memories of these same streets filled with screaming mobs in 1792-1793. The royal cavalcade was escorted by cavalry still in Napoleonic uniform, men with shakos pulled low over their eyes to exclude the hateful acts being performed.

The aged king had gained more wisdom during his exile than was generally realized. "The system I have adopted, and which my ministers unswervingly follow is founded on the maxim that one must not be King of two peoples, and all the efforts of my government are aimed at causing these two peoples, who only too obviously exist, to form in the end one only." His goal therefore was to assemble all the French "under the flag of pardon and oblivion."

Easier said than done. The Tuileries were saturated with Napoleonic symbols: eagles, the imperial bees, violets and the initial "N." The Duchess of Angoulême and her stalwarts began hiding the bees, pasting lilies over the violets, transforming N's into back-to-back Ls. The King chided his brother that if he continued his mini-crusade against Napoleonic imagery, "I shall place his bust on my chimney piece!"

Nonetheless, pardon and oblivion made some progress despite the unbending hostility of ultra-royalists gathered around the Comte d'Artois. The events of March 1815 would reverse this and introduce renewed hostility and violence. The final Napoleonic medals interrupt the newly launched roster of Restoration pieces. These are the medals of Napoleon's Cent Jours, Hundred Days in the dizzying zig-zag of succeeding events.







[157]  
*Louis' Return to France*



[158]  
*Paris Entry of the King and Duchess of Angoulême*

# ELBA AND *LES CENT JOURS*, THE HUNDRED DAYS

The dethroned Emperor had departed Paris, and made his way to the Mediterranean coast passing through areas of France, including Var, which were noisily celebrating his overthrow. The medals of the Emperor's first exile and return form a series beginning with the [159] Sojourn on Elba Medal, 1815. Bronze, 41mm. By Nicolas Brenet, engr. Bramsen 1583. This obverse continues the gaunt bust r. in Garde Nationale uniform introduced above.

The reverse shows a draped form of Fortuna and her wheel with an eagle on a rock at seaside within a broad raised border displaying 12 signs of Zodiac. SÉJOUR A L'ISLE D'ELBE MDCCCXIV-MDCCCXV. Glossy red-brown patina, edge Pointing Hand-Cuivre. Although seldom so described, Elba was a distinctly convivial place of comfortable exile that Napoleon must have thought back upon ruefully on Saint Helena in years to come.

Napoleon was now offshore, but the position of the returned Bourbons was precarious. They were obliged to work with a government and military created by Napoleon that were less than enthusiastic about Louis XVIII. Bonapartist and republican opponents were everywhere and a huge military machine had to be carefully stood down and smaller force reconstituted under royal control.

Paris would soon be thronged by "half pays," Napoleonic veterans demobilized and receiving half of their regular pay, wearing deliberately uniform-like blue tunics that made them all too visible to apprehensive royalists. Common soldiers were far less flexible in their allegiance than marshals and were soon found drinking toasts everywhere to the absent Napoleon.

For them, the Restoration was a profound disappointment. When Napoleon returned, stepping ashore on the coast of the Golfe de Juan on March 1, 1815, they rallied to his eagles in overwhelming numbers. In 18 days, winning over troops and such officers as Marshal Ney sent to apprehend him, Napoleon was in Paris amid delirious acclaim.

Ney had vowed to the King that he would bring back Napoleon "in an iron cage." For all his self-assurance, the Emperor had carefully avoided areas known to be hostile on his march north. Louis XVIII had prudently retreated northward to Ghent while his brother and the Duc d'Orléans abandoned positions at Lyons and fled France.

At this juncture, an element of confusion enters the Napoleonic series. The great adventure that went down in history as the Hundred Days would see the return of the Emperor, his ultimate defeat and final exile; the flight and return of the recently installed Bourbons and some instances of Napoleonic medals appearing from non-French origins.

First to be considered is the [160] Return of the Emperor Medal, 1815. Bronze, 40.0mm. By Nicolas Brenet and Bertrand Andrieu, scs. Bramsen 1591, Zeitz 136. The obverse presents a crowned eagle with Legion d'Honneur in its beak flying over the sea, with a faint view of Elba in the distance, XXVI. FÉVRIER/ MDCCCXV, BREN. F.

The dramatic reverse shows a uniformed Napoleon standing at l. with arms folded before a demonstrative peasant and one of the troops sent to arrest him, RETOUR DE L'EMPEREUR/ MARS MDCCCXV. This example displays light glossy brown patina and edge with Pointing Hand-CUIVRE edgemark.



[159]  
1815 Sojourn on Elba



[160]  
1815 Return of the Emperor



Back in Paris, Napoleon now faced the immediate need to promote political union as he struggled to re-create a viable army on short notice. Would-be statesman Benjamin Constant promoted a new fundamental law or constitution to regularize civil government in what had long been in practice a military dictatorship.

The result was the [161] Field of May Constitution Medal, 1815. Bronze, 41mm, 4.5mm thick. Bramsen 1628. The anepigraphic obverse bears an unsigned high-relief laureate head after Bertrand Andrieu. Reverse displays the front of a Pavilion erected near the Ecole Militaire decorated with eagles, garlands, a small dome like that of the Tuileries under FIDÉLITÉ ET PATRIE. In exergue CONSTITUTION. D./ 1815. Red-brown patina, edge Pointing Hand-CUIVRE. Not in CGI, this medal exists in size and detail varieties.

Here is an oddly Victorian design, unlike classic allegories of most Napoleonic Medals. Napoleon let it be known on Saint Helena that he had neither respect for or great expectations of representative government but had he returned victorious, he would “have sent the Chambers packing!”

Among problematical medals is [162] The Hundred Days Medal, 1815. Bronze, 38.7mm, 3.9mm thick with somewhat rounded edges. By Johann Baptist Merlen, engr. Bramsen 1604. This obverse presents a high relief uniformed bust of Napoleon r. as General of the Garde Nationale, French legend LES CENT JOURS. The unsigned bust is plainly copied from Alexis Depaulis’ uniformed likeness but the head is fatter, rounder, with scalp nearly touching border and the outer rim, bust point actually touching at 5:00.

The reverse is dominated by a spread-winged eagle on shore holding victor’s laurel in its beak as it tears up a lily plant with roots, flowers and buds. Under a minute Star of Destiny approach four sailing ships. Three disembodied uniformed arms are poised above with clasped hands and ribbons inscribed MILES, Soldier, IMPERATOR, Emperor, POPULUS, People.

In exergue, DIEU PROTÉGÉ/ LA FRANCE, 4er MARS 181(5), God Protect France. Names cited by Bramsen, GOUBAUD IN. and MERLEN FEC. are not visible on this specimen, only fragmentary A ER appear at lower left. Bramsen, “Cette Médaille n’a été qui depuis la Révolution de Juillet 1830,” Not known before July Revolution of 1830. Displaying dark olive brown patina and a very high relief bust, this medal is struck in a style quite unlike that of official French medals, PE.

The rushed first-things-first atmosphere of the Hundred Days barred more adequate medallic chronicling of this busy year. Widely known is the [163] Battle of Waterloo Medal, 1815. Bronze, 42mm, 2.7mm thick. By Émile Rogat, engr. Bramsen 1636, Essling 1581, Florange, Retour des Cendres. 33 obv. CGI 85:J.

Struck circa 1840, this obverse offers a laureate bust r. with distinctive long truncation, with the aberrant form name NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (see also Return of Ashes Medal below). Use of the portrait without proper titles EMPEREUR ET ROI would certainly have constituted *lesée majesté* had the battle ended in a French victory.

The reverse shows the Napoleonic eagle surrounded by and battling with four serpent-necked vultures symbolizing the principal enemy armies, simple legend above, WATERLOO, 18 JUIN 1815 at base. Red-brown patina. Concave PE.

The catastrophic defeat at Waterloo was largely the result of a desperate shortage of adequately trained manpower after decades of continuous warfare, particularly after the



[161]  
1815 Field of May Constitution



[162]  
1815 The Hundred Days



[163]  
1815 Battle of Waterloo

disastrous Russian campaign and poor communication between Emperor and his commanders in the field. It was the final blow to Napoleon's fortunes.

The victorious Allies now agreed to remove Napoleon beyond the limits of the civilized world, though the Prussians loudly demanded a court martial and death. A significant medal near the end of all things is the British-made [164] Surrender to Captain Maitland of HMS Bellerophon Medal, 1815. Bronze, 41mm. By Thomas Webb and Nicolas Brenet for James Mudie's National Medals. Bramsen 1691, Mudie 37, CGI 86B.

Obv High relief uniformed bust r. NAPOLEON – BONAPARTE, tiny MUDIE DIR./ WEBB F. below truncation. Rev Marvelously detailed British warships at sea, an eagle perched on the flagstaff of the foremost, SURRENDER'D TO H.B.M.S. BELLEROPHON CAPT. MAITLAND, exergue IV. JULY/ MDCCCXV., BRENET F. – MUDIE D. All lettering is minute, PE.

This medal was one of a 40-piece series chronicling the British role in the Napoleonic wars, and directly confronts the Napoleonic corpus. This ambitious series was created by James Mudie of London, Captain in the Duke of Wellington's army in Spain. This series was struck by Sir Edward Thomason, but was dismissed by chronicler Leonard Forrer as a series "styled National Medals" though privately struck.

Marketed in Silver and Bronze, offered in Gold, sets were housed in deluxe, heavily gilt leather-covered book-album cases that were decidedly perishable and are correspondingly rare today. Working with British medal-manufacturer Sir Edward Thomason, Mudie unblushingly sought out leading French medalists to create his designs.

These engravers knew the subject well, having just finished working for Napoleon himself! The example shown is an old British strike, part of Mudie's National Medals but also offered by the Paris Mint in CGI! Thomason was also famous for a number of many other medal series, notably his massive *Thomason Medalllic Bible*.

The dreams of the Restoration were deferred by Napoleon's triumphant return for his doomed but breathlessly appealing Hundred Days. Scheduled for the First Restoration but actually struck among medals of the Second was the 41mm bronze [165] Duc d'Enghien Memorial Medal by Eugene Gatteaux. Bramsen 293. Obviously antedated, this is another piece not included in CGI.

This dark glossy brown medal bears an elaborately uniformed bust l., L.A.H. DE BOURBON. CONDÉ DUC D'ENGHEIN, (sic., properly Enghien), Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon-Condé, Duc d'Enghein, born 1772, died 1804, wearing the Order of the Holy Spirit. The reverse displays a caparisoned cavalry horse at the royal tent, oval arms of Bourbon-Condé at l. under Latin legend PERIIT HEROS, exergue VINCENNÆ XXI MARTIS MDCCCIV, He died a Hero, Vincennes March 21, 1804.

This plain edge medal was once part of the Virgil M. Brand Collection. Scion of an august junior line of the Bourbons, Louis Antoine fought with the Allies against the French Revolution until the Treaty of Amiens. After narrowly surviving the Pichegru-Cadoudal assassination plot, the somewhat shaken First Consul was led to believe that "a Prince" of the old dynasty had been involved in planning the attempt.

He first blamed disaffected Jacobins, to the distress of ex-Jacobin Joseph Fouché, then fastened on the young Duke who seemed to be in waiting, just over the border in Ettenheim in the Grand Duchy of Baden. At Napoleon's orders, a French detachment crossed the frontier into Baden, illegally seized the young Duke, and swiftly conveyed him across the frontier and on to the medieval fortress of Vincennes.

Here a drumhead court-martial under Savary (future Duc de Rovigo) sentenced him to death, ignoring his requests for an interview with the First Consul. He was shot at once and hastily buried in the bed of the fortress moat. Closely involved in this long-echoing tragedy was





[164]

*1815 Surrender to Captain Maitland of HMS Bellerophon*



[165]

*Duc d'Enghien Memorial*

Fouché, later Napoleonic Duc d'Otranto and Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of Napoleon and future King of Naples.

Fouché had opposed the execution despite his own bloody record in the massacres at Lyon. It was he who delivered the unique dismissal, "It was worse than a crime. It was a blunder." Fouché would later be received at Court by Louis XVIII, entering supported by Tallyrand, giving birth to the bon mot, "Behold Crime leaning on the arm of Vice!"

In all the catalogue of death of the Napoleonic era, the murder of the Duc d'Enghien remained an unanswered reproach which Napoleon was still trying to justify ten days before his death on Saint Helena.

Through the last six years of his life, Napoleon never ceased to complain that he had surrendered to Capt. Maitland as a prisoner of war, expecting to be allowed to settle in England. He regarded his removal to the remote South Atlantic island of Saint Helena as an act of treachery, though it is impossible to seriously imagine him residing in England after 22 years of continuous warfare!

Saint Helena is located some 2,600 miles from civilization in the South Atlantic, then under the administration of the United East India Company. With limited anchorage, the island was chosen precisely for its remoteness that would render another escape impossible.

Generations of historians, including the widely read classic biographer Emil Ludwig have railed against the supposedly unhealthy tropical climate of the island, though the altitude and dampness of his residence Longwood were as much at fault for Napoleon's discomfort as the location in tropical latitudes.

Dispassionate modern medical historians today believe that the stomach cancer that ran in his family was already far advanced when the Emperor reached Saint Helena. His obesity was seriously out of control by 1814 and the erosion of his ability to concentrate during the recurring crises had been noted by his closest associates. His distracted state of mind during his last visit to Josephine's palace of Malmaison has always fascinated historians.

Endless conspiracy theories have swirled around Napoleon's death in 1821. The most popular, noted earlier, postulated arsenic poisoning carried out by one of his entourage, possibly Charles-Tristan Comte de Montholon (born 1783, died 1853) who, it is alleged, was acting for the Bourbons. Modern medical researchers working with samples of hair from the Emperor, Marie Louise and their son show, however, that levels of arsenic were nearly equal in all three.

Arsenic was included in many domestic products throughout Europe, and it has been shown that wallpaper in Longwood, the exile's last home on the island, was heavy with arsenic-containing Scheele's Green that broke down to a fine powder in the air, making most of Napoleon's entourage ill from what was described (more correctly than they knew) as "bad air."

A modern study of the island is "Dinner with the Emperor," by Erica Munkwitz and James L. Swanson, richly illustrated by color photographs by Samantha Reinders, in *Smithsonian* magazine, April 2019, pp 24-37, 70. Longwood still stands, the Emperor's original grave site has been preserved and expert photography presents the rocky topography and plant life of the island, still remote despite the airstrip built by the British administration.

Napoleon apparently settled in successfully before being subjected to unending petty harassment by the island's next Governor Sir Hudson Lowe (born 1769, died 1844). A minor functionary of the East India Company, Lowe was hagridden with fear that his charge would somehow contrive an escape on his watch. The governor never ran out of niggling upsets to inflict and petty demands to make, including endlessly insulting quibbling over the prisoner's name.





Calling the Emperor “General Bonaparte” was a calculated insult but historians have wondered whether the Emperor did not make something of a game of his ongoing war with Lowe. The real value of his sojourn was recorded by the [166] Exile on Sainte Helene Medal, 1815. .925 Silver, 41.5mm, 2.5mm thick, 34.0 g. By Nicolas Brenet. Bramsen 1839, Julius 3708, CGI 87E. This obverse presents the large-headed uniformed bust introduced in 1814 r., NAPOLEON EMP. ET ROI.

The reverse shows an oddly hunched uniformed Emperor seated on a rock inscribing history for a guiding Genius, SEJOUR DE NAPOLEON A L'ILLE (sic) DE SAINTE-HELENE, XVIII OCTOBRE MDCCCXV/ JUSQU'A SA MORT. The specimen shown displays a modern oxidized Silver patina, edge C-1ARGENT, .925 Silver.

Few exiled rulers had such an opportunity to record their own views of events in their careers and perhaps to rewrite history in their own interest. A prime mover in this undertaking was Comte Emmanuel-Augustin-Dieudonné-Joseph de Las Cases (born 1766, died 1842) who published his *Memorial de Sainte-Hélène* in 1823 and helped fuel the great wave of Napoleonic nostalgia and legend that soon swept over France, Britain and the New World.





[166]  
*1815 Exile on Sainte Helene*

# POST-MORTEM NAPOLEONIC PIECES

Neither the Napoleonic saga nor the creation of medals dedicated to it ceased with the Emperor's exile and death. The afterglow of the Napoleonic legend brightened and the Emperor remained an object of perpetual fascination within France and even in Britain, defying the unceasing drum-beat of animosity of the Bourbon regime.

To the French people, it felt as if a deep and smothering silence had settled over the country after the busy years of Napoleon's conquests. The Bourbon regime, as journalist-historian Philip Guedalla wrote in 1922, seemed to have set "the slow, grinding machinery of the eighteenth century" into motion once again. But beyond the reach of official control, Napoleonic interest abroad grew steadily and Bonapartist paintings, sculptures, prints and medals were produced and collected by the thousands.

Scenes of Napoleon plowing a furrow or standing sentry for a just-awakened and horrified soldier in a hayfield were among popular prints. Marvelous "Seditious art" included silhouettes of Louis XVIII that changed to Napoleon when turned upside down, and highly polished candle holders that reflected a ghostly bust of the Emperor when the candle was lit.

Upon Napoleon's death on May 5, the Emperor's Corsican physician, Dr. Antommarchi (born 1780, died 1838) made a death mask and performed an autopsy under close British supervision and gave stomach cancer as immediate cause of death. The body was interred within mahogany and lead caskets and buried 10 feet deep in its grave in Rupert's or Geranium Valley on Saint Helena.

The gravestone placed on site bore no name. In a final spasm of spite, Sir Hudson Lowe would not permit the name NAPOLEON to appear and the Emperor's entourage vetoed Lowe's suggested inscription NAPOLEON BONAPARTE as disrespectful to the deceased, so the site was marked by a blank stone until 1840.

No official, contemporary French medal marked Napoleon's death in 1821. Dramatizing ongoing British fascination was the [167] Emperor Napoleon Death Medal, 1821. Bronze, 53.6mm, by Sir Edward Thomason, publisher. Bramsen 1851, Julius 3735. Struck by Thomason and Jones in England, this medal's obverse presents a bare head r. with "F" on truncation, inner legend EMPEROR – NAPOLEON within a heavy cypress wreath.

The outer legend states DIED 5 MAY BURIED IN RUPERTS VALLEY ST. HELENA 9 MAY 1821. The reverse presents a seemingly endless 36-line biographic vita in hundreds of minute letters including Cicalpine Republic, and several other odd English spellings. This reverse dramatizes Thomason's delight in lettering for its own sake and his boast that he could fit more lettering onto a medal than any other medalist in the world.

That such designs were the cause of immediate visual fatigue bothered him not at all. For full-blown examples of his lettering fascination, interested readers are invited to examine any 70mm medal from the dramatic *Thomason Medallic Bible*.

An example of the transience of memory emerges from the anecdote of a card game at Windsor Castle in May 1821, interrupted by a breathless servant who rushed in to announce Napoleon's death to King George IV, "Your Majesty's worst enemy is dead!" The King, immediately thinking of his hated and estranged Queen Caroline, burst out joyfully, "Is she, by God!"





[167]  
1821 Emperor Napoleon Death

Another Napoleonic collecting category is that of medals of Napoleon's Marshals and officials in the imperial government. One figure deserving far more recognition than he received in life was the Emperor's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais (born Sept. 3, 1781, died Feb. 21, 1824). As a mere lad, he impressed Gen. Bonaparte by appearing before him to request his late father's sword, which had been surrendered in a Parisian disarmament program. He and his sister Hortense were later formally adopted by the Emperor.

Made a French Prince, he proved unshakably loyal and served as Viceroy of Italy until the collapse of the Empire in April 1814. He then retired to Munich, Bavaria, where King Maximilian Josef granted him the title Duke of Leuchtenberg. He was portrayed on the [168] Prince Eugène Medal, 1824 by Bavarian medalist Franz Xaver Lösch (1770-1826). Bramsen 1873, Forrer III:479.

An uncomplicated head faces l. in legend PRINCE EUGÈNE. The reverse presents birth and death dates around a laurel and oak wreath enclosing HONNEUR/ ET/ FIDÉLITÉ. No controversial titles or family name are given on this handsome, understated medal. A listing of medals of Marshals and high dignitaries may be deferred until a later day.

A singular contrast to the joyous medals that greeted the birth and baptism of the King of Rome was the medallic silence that followed his death in Vienna, July 22, 1832. As we have seen, Napoleon had carefully provided for the accession of his son as Napoleon II under the regency of Empress Marie Louise, but this plan had been simply set aside by his brother Joseph, allowing the artful Talleyrand to engineer the Bourbon Restoration.

The Empress, confused and weak-willed, had been whisked out of France by her father and brought to Austrian territory, where all contact with her defeated husband was choked off. The Congress of Vienna named her sovereign Grand Duchess of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla in central Italy, where she ruled until her death in 1847. Francis had insisted that his grandson have no right of succession to his mother's Grand Duchy.

The worldly-wise Francis then appointed as a gentleman in waiting to his daughter Adam Adalbert Graf von Neipperg, who nimbly graduated from gentleman of the bedchamber to companion of the bed's occupant, going on tomorganatic husband under the new title Graf Montenuovo, and fathering children in this new union. Her third marriage to Count Bombelles would eventually follow.

Napoleon's son was raised under the strictest supervision as a purely Austrian prince with the meaningless title Duke of Reichstadt, and every effort was made to eradicate all memory of France and his father. Nonetheless the young man retaliated by making herculean efforts to find out as much about his father as he could, though at Napoleon's death in 1821 all the materials willed to his son were carefully hidden from the boy.

Never robust, forced inactivity contributed directly to his death from tuberculosis on July 22, 1832. Although he seldom saw his mother after her settlement in Parma, she did bestir herself to visit him as he lay dying. There were no official French medals after the birth and baptism of the King of Rome, but collectors can seek the [169] Napoleon II Death Medal, 1832. Bronze, 51.1mm. By Bauchéry, engr. Bramsen 1896, Julius 3871, Forrer I:135.

The somewhat unsettling obverse bears a facing bust of Napoleon I in death, Roman numeral date May 5, 1821 below. On the symbolic reverse a uniformed and laureate Napoleon seated on clouds welcomes his son, rising in Austrian uniform. At right is the Napoleonic eagle with a broken sword and crown falling, July 22, 1832. Gold-tan patina, edge. C-Bronze. This obverse is the cover art for Bramsen's Vol. 2.

Sequestered in Vienna, he who would have been Napoleon II long remained the hope of Bonapartists everywhere, though wreathed in mists of remoteness and mystery. The "Three Glorious Days" of the July 1830 Revolution unseated King Charles X, who had succeeded Louis



[168]  
1824 Prince Eugène



[169]  
1832 Napoleon II Death



XVIII in September 1824, but brought no opportunity for Napoleon II. The Emperor's surviving brothers had no desire to rock the boat despite the surging wave of Bonapartist nostalgia washing over France and Europe.

The agile Louis-Phillipe Duc d'Orleans picked up the crown as it fell from his cousin's head in the July Revolution. Cementing what his collaborator the Marquis de Lafayette called "the best of republics," the new monarch took the modified title King of the French, raising again the tricolor flag of the Republic and Empire. With considerable skill, the new Citizen King took command of Bonapartist imagery despite the efforts of the Emperor's fast-rising nephew Louis-Napoleon (son of the King of Holland, born 1808, died 1873).

This brash young man attempted to regain the imperial throne through a failed coup at Strasbourg in 1836 and another at Boulogne in 1840. Upon his cousin's death in 1832, he assumed the magic number Napoleon III and after escaping prison at Ham, lived in England where he fascinated fashionable society by his assertions, "When I am Emperor of the French..." He would ultimately take power, first as Prince-President of the Second Republic after the overthrow of Louis-Philippe and later as Emperor Napoleon III, 1852-1870.

This lay in the future as Louis-Philippe's took his first major Bonaparte-related initiative, recalled by the [170] Napoleon Vendôme Column Restoration Medal, 1833. Bronze, 55.3mm. By Nicolas Brenet. Bramsen 1912. This obverse depicts the Emperor's standing statue by Antoine-Denis Chaudet in Roman attire holding sword and a statuette of Victory flanked by NAPOLEON - EMPEREUR, legend ÉRIGÉE SUR LA COLONNE DE LA PLACE VENDOME EN AOUT 1810 DESCENDUE EN AVRIL 1814 BRENET.

"Descendue" referred to the toppling of this statue by a royalist mob who left the rest of the towering column alone. The reverse depicts the "interim" statue placed by Louis-Philippe, showing Napoleon in bicorne and uniform of 1805 and holding a monocular, flanked by a reversed torch and Victoire, NAPOLEON REPLACÉ SUR LA COLNE EN JUILLET 1833 SOUS LA RÉGNE DE LOUIS PHILIPPE 1. BRENET. PE, light brown patina showing traces of red.

The Vendôme column remained, displaying its spiral of "Austerlitz Bronze" plaques made from melted enemy cannon, memorializing the Emperor's victories. As part of his pre-empting the Napoleonic legend for his July monarchy, Louis-Philippe commissioned the second, uniformed figure in 1833.

Prince-President Louis-Napoleon would restore the Roman figure soon after his 1848 election to presidency of the Second Republic but the column's adventures were not yet over. Troglodytes of the Paris Commune laboriously sawed through the column, toppling it and its statue on May 16, 1871.

After crushing the Commune with amazing savagery, the new Third Republic sent a bill for 350,000 Francs to the Communard Courbet accused of directing the column's destruction. It was restored once more by the Republic in 1876. (David T. Alexander, "The Research Desk, *Coin World*, Nov. 2017).

Having ordered completion of the Arc de Triomphe and modestly issuing medals bearing his head facing that of Napoleon, Louis-Philippe orchestrated the greatest of Bonapartist pageants, persuading the British government to release Napoleon's body for return to France in 1840. After careful exhumation and examination, the body was transported on the French naval vessel *la Belle-Poule*, commanded by the King's sailor-son the Prince of Joinville.

This whole pageant was officially called the *Le Retour des Cendres*, Return of the Ashes. "Ashes" was not meant literally; examination of the corpse showed it to be remarkably well preserved. A definitive listing of medals, jetons and medalets of this event, *Retour des Cendres par les Médailles*, was published by the great French numismatist Jules Florange in 1957.



[170]  
 1833 Napoleon Vendôme Column Restoration

Heading the Florange listing was the [171] Return of the Ashes – Victories of Napoleon Medal, 1840. Bronze, 52mm, unsigned style of Emile Rogat. Bramsen 1987, Florange 1. Obv Laureate head r. vertical legends (l.) NAPOLÉON/ EMPEREUR ET ROI, (r.) NÉ A AJACCIO 1769./ MORT A Ste. HÉLÈNE 1821. The reverse is a sunburst of rays emanating from an eagle on foudre at center, rays separating names of 32 battles, from MONTENOTTE to WATERLOO. Glossy medium brown. PE.

[172] Memorial de Ste. Helene Medal, 1840. Bronze, 41mm. By Antoine Bovy, engr. Bramsen 1990, Florange 9, CGI 151D. Obverse presents a high-relief uniformed bust l., wearing Star of Legion of Honor, NAPOLEON EMPEREUR. This reverse presents a view of the grave in Rupert's Valley with weeping willows, outer circle, • MEMORIAL DE STE. HELENE • 5 MAI MDCCCXXI – PARIS 15 DEC. MDCCCXL. Red-brown patina, PE, slight die rotation.

The voyage to France inspired the [173] Return of Napoleon's Body Medal, 1840. Bronze 41.5mm. By Emile Rogat, engr. Bramsen 1983, Florange 33. The obverse is that of the Waterloo Medal, laureate head r., aberrant title NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (not EMPEREUR as on other *Retour des Cendres* Medals).

The reverse presents a seascape with La Belle Poule under full sail l. flying the tricolor, LA NATION Française HONORE SA MÉMOIRE POUR LA GLOIRE QU'IL LUI A LÉGUÉE, exergue TRANSLATION DU CORPS DE NAPOLEON/ AUX INVALIDES/ 15 DEC. 1840. Medium brown patina, PE.





[171]  
1840 Return of the Ashes - Victories of Napoleon



[172]  
1840 Memorial de Ste. Helene



[173]  
1840 Return of Napoleon's Body

All stages of the Retour had their own medals. Small but elegant is His Wishes are Fulfilled Medal, 1840. [174]. Bronze, 26.5mm, 2.7mm thick. Florange 17 by Valentin Maurice Borrel, engr. Obv laureate head l., NAPOLÉON EMPEREUR. Rev La Belle Poule sailing right, Saint Helena at left, SES VOEX SONT EXAUCÉS/ IL REPOSE DANS SA PATRIE, His Wishes are Fulfilled, he Reposes in his Fatherland. Exergue TRANSLATION/ AUX INVALIDES/ 1840. Edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.

This small diameter medal and the Arrival of the Ashes piece below display real medallic quality. Around the time of the Retour, France began to be flooded by inexpensive pieces the author refers to as “Street Medals,” single-strike base metal medalets holed or with attached loops for suspension. Made for sale in the streets, hundreds of types came into being during the revolutions of 1848, looked down by “true numismatists” of their time.

Collectors interested in surveying this specialized field may consult *Souvenirs Numismatiques de la Revolution de 1848, Recueil Complet des Médailles, Monnaies et Jetons, que ont Paru en France depuis le 22 Fevrier jusqu’au 20 Décembre 1848*. (reprint by Richard Lobel, London, 1973). It is a mark of the low regard this category of collectible commanded that the name of its author, classical numismatist Felicien de Saulcy, does not appear on this useful, if not truly Complet work.

Arrival of Ashes at Paris Medal, 1840. Silver, 25.4mm, 2.5mm thick, 9.07 g. By Francois Caunois, engr. Bramsen 1984, Florange type 22. [175] This obverse presents a very distinctive Napoleon head distinguished by its high forehead with laurel wreath pointing nearly upward, signature CAUNOIS 1840 below.

The reverse depicts an imperially crowned tomb with eagles at corners and a sculpture panel depicting history, religion and Fame, IL FUT GRAND COMME LE MONDE, He was as Great as the World, exergue ARRIVÉ A PARIS, 1840. This is not the dramatic porphyry sarcophagus in the Invalides today. Edge Lampe Antique only, prooflike gleam.

From *la Belle Poule*, the Emperor’s coffin was transferred to a barge for a final voyage up the Seine. Then came the [176] Landing of the Ashes Medal, 1840. Bronze, 52.5mm. Bramsen 1986, Florange 27. By Jean-Pierre Montagny, engr. Edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE.

Bearing a laureate Napoleon head r., this obverse refers to a mysterious medal series, HIST. DE LA REVOLUTION, DE L’EMPIRE DE LA RESTAURATION ET DE LA MON. DE 1830. History of the Revolution, of the Empire, of the Restoration and of the Monarchy of 1830. This comprehensive listing would have been a tall order, naming succeeding and mutually antagonistic regimes! One wonders whether any other medals exist of this ambitious proposal, described as Published by Pourrat Frères, Paris.

With considerable artistic license, the busy reverse places the Invalides and *la Belle Poule* in the background, as France receives Napoleon’s coffin from the ship, carried by aged generals in mutton chops up a flight of stairs. High above, a tiny uniformed figure of sword-wielding Napoleon rides on his eagle in glory. A cud at r. exergue line has been hand-filed flat.





[174]  
1840 *His Wishes are Fulfilled*



[175]  
1840 *Arrival of Ashes at Paris*



[176]  
1840 *Landing of the Ashes*



Henri-Gratien Comte Bertrand Tribute Medal, 1840 [177]. Bronze, 41mm. By. A. Sambard, engr. Bramsen unlisted. Obv Laurel crown over small round-headed uniformed bust l. with mutton chops wearing Star of Légion d'Honneur on clouds over weeping willows and faithful dog stretched out on a grave PLUS HEUREUX MAIS AUSSI FIDÈLE, Most Fortunate but also Faithful. No honoree's name appears on this medal! A massive hand-filed cud appears at 4:00-6:00. Reverse bears laurel and oak, FRANÇAIS/ RENDE A SA PATRIE/ ET L'ADMIRATION/ PUBLIQUE/ ILE D'ELBE/ Ste. HELENE. Deep glossy brown. PE.

Bertrand (born 1773, died 1844, was Grand Marshal of the Palace 1808. He was Napoleon's faithful companion in exile, and wrote extensively on such thoughts as Napoleon's wished to make known. This likeness was once thought to be that of Comte de Montholon (born 1783, died 1853).

Both have been accused of poisoning the Emperor with arsenic, but as noted above, analysis of four preserved hair samples and hair of Marie Louise and son were found identical in arsenic content. Longwood wallpaper included Scheele's Green color made with arsenic. Tropical mould reduced arsenic to breathable vapor, keeping Napoleon's staff on edge of illness from "bad air." Poisoning theory has now been shown to be dubious.





[177]  
*1840 Henri-Gratien Comte Bertrand Tribute*

# SECOND EMPIRE

After 1840, several threads of Napoleonic history continued through medals down to the present day. Obviously related to the series but beyond the scope of the present work are the medals struck for the Emperor's nephew, Louis-Napoleon (born 1808, died 1873), son of Louis Napoleon King of Holland and Queen Hortense.

As noted earlier, the Emperor's nephew returned to France after the 1848 revolution. Navigating a steady course throughout the howling chaos of 1848, he was first elected to the National Assembly and then elevated to the Presidency of the Second Republic under a Constitution that limited him to a single term.

Failing to revise this Constitution, Louis-Napoleon staged a successful coup d'état and established himself as Prince-President in a kind of latter-day Consulate before going the full distance and re-establishing the Empire in November 1852. Historians such as T.A.B. Corley (*Democratic Despot*, Clarkson N. Potter Inc, 1961) have interpreted this as the first of the modern "popular" dictatorships.

[178] Re-establishment of the Empire Medal, 1852. Bronze, 52.2mm. By Valentin Maurice Borrel, engr. Forrer I:224. Obverse bears a large, boldly modeled head l. wearing the new ruler's trademark "imperial" or goatee, NAPOLEON III – EMPEREUR, tiny BORREL 1852.

The reverse is rich in Napoleonic symbols, an Imperial crown with scepter and Main de Justice in glory over an eagle standing on laurel, oak atop a cartouche inscribed 7.824.189. legend SUFRAGE UNIVERSEL/ 21, 22 NOV. 1852 at l., RETABLISSEMENT/ DE L'EMPIRE at r. Edge Pointing Hand CUIVRE. Mahogany patina.

Taste in medallic art had ossified by the 1850's and few really dramatic designs appeared during the new reign. One area in which the Second Empire should have excelled was the Napoleon I Birth Centenary in 1869, but CGI Vol. II shows a single wholly allegorical medal by Alphée Dubois for this occasion.

Appearing for popular sale were designs that can be charitably described as indifferent in quality and execution. [179] Napoleon I Birth Centenary Medal, 1869. Bronze gilt, 50.7mm. Unsigned. Bramsen 2099. Obverse laureate head r., CT on truncation, sans-serif \* CENTENAIRE DE L'EMPEREUR NAPOLEON Ier \* (Bee) 1769 • 1869 (Bee). This reverse shows a palm wreath over gorget at base inscribed CODE/ NAPOLEON, N in rays over imperial crown, circle wreath enclosed upraised-wing eagle on sword with the Legion d'Honneur around its neck. Uneven gilding, tiny tics. PE.

Of similar fabric is another [180] Napoleon I Birth Centenary Medal, 1869. Bronze gilt, 50.7mm. Unsigned. Bramsen 2100. This obverse bears a small laureate head r., sans-serif \* SOUVENIR DU CENTENAIRE DE L'EMPEREUR NAPOLEON I \* 1769=1869. The reverse presents a tiny crown over an imperial eagle gripping lightning and laurel; oak and laurel enclose the Emperor's bicorne on sword, book CODE NAPOLEON and Legion d'Honneur on tasseled cushion. PE.

Neither medal bears Paris Mint edge markings, as both are unofficial issues. With Napoleon III on the throne in 1869, the Empire surely should have done better for the Centenary, which





[178]  
1852 Re-establishment of the Empire



[179]  
1869 Napoleon I Birth Centenary



[180]  
1869 Napoleon I Birth Centenary

was observed very casually! It is possible that the recent implementation of the Liberal Empire and the Emperor's deteriorating health provided fatal distractions, closely followed by the disastrous war with Prussia in 1870.

Over the next half century, Napoleon would make his debut in American numismatics on the [181] Official Medals of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. .600 Silver and base metals, 34.1mm. (Hibler-Kappen, *So-Called Dollars*, 299-304). The obverses bear well designed conjoined busts l. of First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte and U.S. President Thomas Jefferson.

The reverse bears a relief map of the U.S. with the extended limits of the Louisiana Purchase, the inscription giving the purchase price of \$15 million with a star marking the exposition site, St. Louis, Missouri. These well-designed medals were produced in a United States Mint building on the exposition grounds.

If the 1869 Birth Centennial was poorly commemorated, its Bicentennial in 1969 was worse. Typical of the cataract of privately produced kitsch is the [182] Napoleon I Birth Bicentenary Medallion, 1969. Bronze uniface, 99.2mm. Signed with crossed swords, hilts uppermost, S.O.P.P. in angles. A bold uniformed bust l. wears Star of the Legion d'Honneur and four medals, and the Emperor's characteristic bicorne and cockade.

This high-relief bust was plainly based on Montagny's Retour des Cendres Medal of 1840, with miserably low-relief sans-serif legend BI-CENTENNAIRE DE LA NAISSANCE/ DE L'EMPEREUR, 1769 / 1969 flanking. Stippled fields, uneven field sunken around bust, dark glossy surfaces.





[181]

1904 Official Medals of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition



[182]

1969 Napoleon I Birth Bicentenary



La Monnaie de Paris continued to offer a range of modern strikes of many Napoleonic medals of the designs covered in this Primer. The Mint itself has released modern medals by Albert de Jaeger hailing the [183, not pictured] Second Centenary of Napoleon's Birth, 1969 and the [184, not pictured] 150th Anniversary of his Death, 1971. During the heyday of the Club Français de la Médaille (CFM) in 1960-1990, a variety of sumptuous strikes appeared in varying diameters in Gold, Silver and Bronze from 20 to 95mm.

When the author was a staff writer at *Coin World*, Sidney, Ohio, he regularly publicized CFM and its work. A classic of that era was the [185] Napoleon at Chateau du Pont de Briques Medal, 1975. Copper, 83mm, by Jean Claude Ammann, sc. Wonderfully Napoleonic in spirit, the obverse bore a laureate head of Napoleon in rays above his headquarters, the chateau of the Hereditary Senechals of Boulogne.

The reverse bore a view of the famous camp at Boulogne, marshalling site for invasion of England in 1803-05, above the Grand

Collar of the Legion d'Honneur. French officers, including Napoleon with arms clasped behind him, gaze out to sea, a cavalryman with two horses appearing at r. This version displays an Antiqued Copper patina. One of 100 struck in pure copper, 49th selection of Club Français de la Medaille, edgemark C-CUIVRE 1976 N. 21/100 edgemark.

The fascination of the Napoleonic saga continues to the present day. Although coins are beyond the scope of the present study, mention must be made of two items of Napoleonic character that modern collectors may encounter. In 1964 there appeared what was widely advertised as a silver [186] 50 Dinars coin of Andorra, the tiny principality perched high in the Pyrenees between France and Spain. This alleged 1964 coinage was a project of New York coin dealer Hans M.F. Schulman, whose name appears in the bibliography. Struck in Munich, Germany, it bore a medieval Catalan denomination of Dinars.

Andorra was long ruled by co-Princes, the French Counts of Foix and the Kings of Navarre. In due course, the Kings of France became co-Princes with the Bishops of Urgel. The title later devolved upon the Emperor Napoleon and the Presidents of France. The Bishops of Urgel held on and in very modern times created an extensive non-circulating coinage, entirely for sale to collectors.

Of rather more sober significance was the Fifth French Republic's commemorative [187] 1.5 Euros, 2003. Bicentenary of the Franc Germinal, .900 Silver, 22.2 g, 37mm. This truly historic coin reproduces the Franc of l'An XI, Paris Mint, by Tiolier. Privy mark Coq, mintmark .A. Its obverse bears the motto Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité around Tiolier's craggy young head of BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL r. The reverse bears the denomination side and Bicentennial legend.

The author welcomes comments from all readers, suggestions for possible improvement and word of additional medals that might be included in later editions.

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[185]  
1975 Napoleon at Chateau du Pont de Briques



[186]  
1964 50 Dinars Coin of Andorra



[187]  
2003 Commemorative 1.5 Euros, Bicentenary of the Franc Germinal

# IMAGE CREDITS

Many thanks to the American Numismatic Society for supplying images for the following medals:

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**Dieu Protège la France...**





*Typical of the many nostalgic views of the Napoleonic era was this unsigned print of Napoleon standing sentry for a horrified, just awakened, soldier*

Medals recording the meteoric career of Napoleon Bonaparte have fascinated collectors for more than two centuries. The *Monnaie de Paris* has produced the majority of existing Napoleonic pieces and continues striking many today, including many such later issues as the 1840 *Retour des Cendres* and the 2021 Bicentenary of the Emperor's death. In all this time there has never been a comprehensive English language survey of the Napoleonic series to introduce the American collector to this fascinating subject. This book does not pretend to include every Napoleonic medal ever issued, but presents a survey to aid beginning or advanced collectors wishing to explore this fascinating field.

Author David Thomason Alexander became interested in medals in the 1950s. He founded Medal Collectors of America in 1998 as the first American organization devoted to collectors of U.S. and world art and commemorative medals. His earlier works include *American Art Medals 1909-1995* (American Numismatic Society, 1995) and *Medals of the Hall of Fame for Great Americans... an Under-utilized Resource in American Medalllic Art* (Newman Numismatic Portal, 2019).